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united nations WORLD

WARREN R. AUSTIN
Three Years of UN

EISENHOWER
by Bill Mauldin

THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

APRIL · 35¢

A Eyeview of UN Headquarters

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WORLD mailbox

ssenting Opinion

Mr. Sheean's personal opinion (UNW vember '47) is very well for an Amer-n. Yet, with due respect for his civic ide, and agreeing in part that the Jnited States itself has disproved, on e greatest scale, some fundamental arxian 'laws,' " I'd ask of him: "The SA and who else?" I do not see why (Europeans, non-American Ameri-ns, Asians, Africans and Oceanic peo-es) should be forced to choose either e of the two systems. The material ounds (wealth, natural resources, illed labor, technical organization, c.) upon which the American capitalist nds simply do not exist in other coun-es right now; on the other hand, the oral and mental outlook of most coun-es would reject a regime along the ssian lines.

I for one try to like the Americans and derstand their motives but, like hun-eds of thousands of others, I feel it creasingly hard to feel anything but at (Americans) preach one theory for ternal consumption and practise a very fferent one abroad, especially in your tin American backyard. And, mind u, I'm referring to economic facts, not political influence. Whether you can sentangle the two, I know not.

W. Velloso
London, England

ore Trade Information

I cannot stress too strongly the impor-nce of the principles of international ade being explained . . . so that free ade will eventually be a real and live ing. We must not sacrifice the major-for the few who would benefit by re-rictions such as a tariff.

Since we all have the interest of all tions of the world at heart, I would e to see subjects on the above matter scussed as often as possible.

Jack I. Gale
Chicago, Illinois

In World's Business *as well as in ecial articles UNW will endeavor to esent the fullest coverage of world ade problems.*

Ed.

ood Teeth

After having spent the past year in the ry good company of your publication, ay I, on the occasion of your first birth-y, say that I think you've cut your eth very evenly, and I hope your molars ake a deep impression.

Mrs. M. Gootnick
Monroe, N. Y.

Fame in Opobo

Having come across your address I beg to apply for your particulars in relative to this Dept. I hope you will not deny me this privilege and send to me without obligation a copy of your magazine monthly. I shall make a very good friend of yours if you will undoubtedly respond to my request. I shall also make known to most of my friends and they will also be eager to apply for some copies, thereby will make your work and name famous here in our Country.

G. P. Apkan
Treasury Office
Ikot Akan — Opobo

Hope for Men of Good Will

Much as I consider UNW the most adult magazine I ever read, and while I take the greatest pride in sending it to a friend abroad (I'm proud to say that such a truly liberal magazine is published in the U. S.), I never thought I should be writing you a letter. But Lajos Zilahy's "Manifesto for Free Men" (UNW, January) changes my mind.

Here is an article I wish everyone I know could read. I wish it could be reprinted in every newspaper in the world. Many of us—even the small people like myself—used to believe completely in a phantom called the "man of good will." However, the experience of war and its cruelties have made many people laugh at the existence of "men of good will."

But Lajos Zilahy and UNW serve to remind all of us that we are not alone. Let the men of good will among us speak up as clearly as the men of ill will. The fanatics have swept the earth a great many times. The publication in your fine magazine of this good article persuades one that the men of good will—the "free men"—may yet sweep across our earth.

Margaret Buhmann
Tiffin, Ohio

Good Month for UNW

There is no doubt but that your Feb. '48 issue is the best copy of UNW that you have ever gotten out!

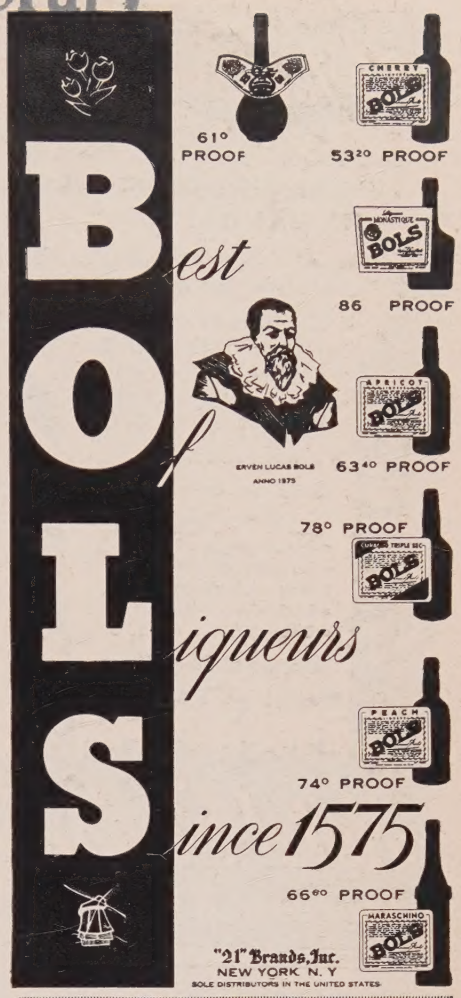
Splendid articles to me are: "Give Them This Day their Daily Bread." Chester Bowles; "A Portrait for the Governor," Max Beer; "Yen of China." Pearl Buck; "Violence was Inevitable in Palestine," Granados; and the rest.

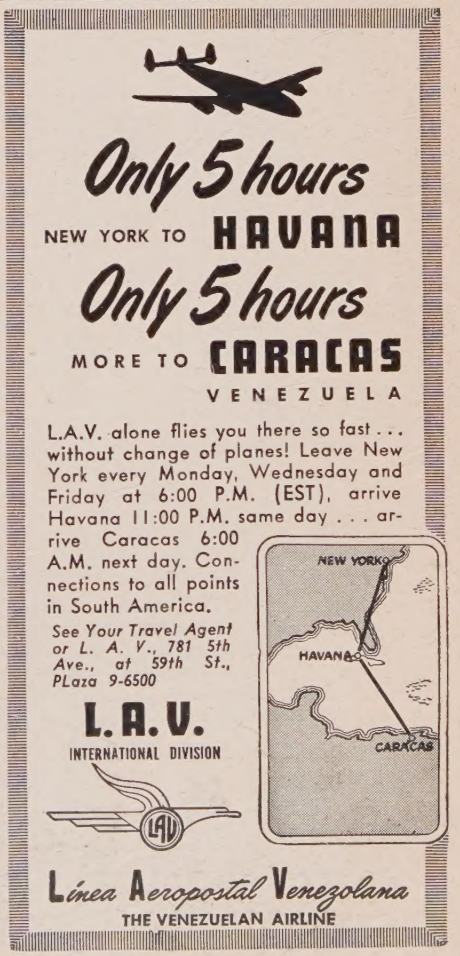
Ida M. Keigwin
Colchester, Connecticut

Growing Mind

I was not pleased (with UNW) but I grew with it and am deeply indebted to it. It was not your political opinions that I valued—I disagree with them—but your many facts even on things apparently so remote from present-day politics as the Lolos—all your facts helped my mind to grow.

John H. Rosser
Queensland, Australia





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what in the WORLD

An amazing collection of odds and ends having to d with life and times of humanity in the Atomic Ag

Walkemfast Brave

For his war-path feats, Lt. Dave Greyeyes, former Canadian Army ofcer, has been awarded the Greek Military Cross. A full-blooded Cree Indian, the lieutenant was cited for gallantry while serving in the Italian Campaign with the Greek Mountain Brigade. More than three thousand Canadian Indian men and women served in the armed forces in World War II. Favorite branch of service was the "walkemfasts"—the infantry.

Change in Rhythm

The muse as well as the military has undergone turnovers in Japan. Kazuo Hasegawa, famous interpretative dancer, had to learn the rumba for his lead role in the musical hit "Begin the

Beguine" now playing in Tokyo. And Tokyo has its own Rockettes, 24 girls dancing at the Ernie Pyle Theater known as the "Erniettes." They were taught the new steps by three American civilian actresses.

Jubilee Gestures

Although Southern Rhodesia's diamond jubilee does not come up until 1950, a Celebration Comittee is already at work. Plans for the event include a Royal Family guest, an international trade fair, a special stamp issue and the laying of the foundation stone for Rhodesia's University. Other suggestions being considered are an athletic competition between African teams, an auto race around the Rhodesias and a regatta on the Zambesi River.

Mr. Gallup and God

Not satisfied with polling people's politics, the ubiquitous Mr. Gallup conducted a poll recently in ten nations to find out how many people believe in God. Highest percentage is in predominantly Catholic Brazil (96%). In Australia and Canada, 95% believe in a deity and in the U. S 94%. Only 66% of Americans belie there is a life after death. Of t eleven nations polled, Frenchm (though mainly Catholic) were mo skeptical of the existence of a Suprem being—only 66% answered affirm tively.

Music Out of the Ruins

Warsaw's Philharmonica Conce Hall is rising bigger and more bea tiful out of the ashes of German d struction. After the occupation, on a few walls were left standing an these have been reinforced. The rest the concert hall will be complete new and larger than the pre-war buil ing. Workmen are rushing to get finished by 1949 in time for the 100 anniversary of the death of Polanc greatest composer, Frederic Chopi

New Hope for Amputees

Soviet surgeons have made surpr ing advances in replacing the missi organs of amputees. By tissue tra plantation, artificial fingers have be grafted on a hand. A disabled war v eran, whose tongue was amputate will soon speak again after undergoi an operation in which a skin flap w transplanted to replace the missi tongue. This work is being done at t Central Traumatology and Orthop dics Institute. It is also perfecting a tificial arms so well designed th amputees can do fine precision wo with artificial fingers.

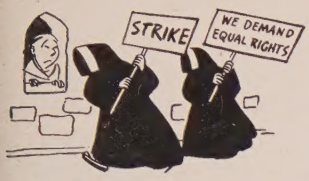
— and Bring Your Own Snow

To a ski meet held recently Copenhagen, Denmark, Norwegi

contestants—at the request of th hosts—brought six carloads of th own snow to sprinkle over the jump. It was held up at customs un Danish inspectors made sure that th was no tariff on imported snow.

ns Strike

At a Buddhist temple in Nagoya, pan, nuns went out on strike for ual rights with monks. Lay brothers



the temple struck too—they want an ht hour day.

As a result of the Japanese land orm program, monks and acolytes st till the land owned by their tem-s. Head temple of the Rinzai sect ared about $15,000 on its mush-om patch. Another Buddhist temple, o in Nagoya, set up a consumer operative which will give discounts members at 500 stores in Japan.

e Friendly Way

A handful of people from the erican Friends Service Committee uakers) and a few Poles have en-ly rebuilt over 100 homes in the lage of Lucimia, Poland. They have o planted the fields and repaired roads of the village that had been erly devastated by the war. Lu-nia is only one of many villages oughout Europe and Asia which e been rebuilt by the Friends, who re awarded the Nobel Peace Prize t year.

illiam Tell Returns Switzerland

After a wartime interlude, William ll is back on the stage. The famous storal play about the Swiss national ro will be presented during the nmer in the outdoor amphitheater Interlaken, a village in central itzerland. The roles are played by local people.

ore Books for Africa

A big campaign is under way to get re newspapers and books to Great tain's African colonies. A public poration in Northern Nigeria is blishing the vernacular fortnightly vspaper *Gaskiya* which has a cir-ation of 22,000 and is also putting other literature for the Northern gerians. The East African Govern-nts are working on a plan for the ablishment of a Literature Bureau h headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya, stimulate African book production.

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Afraid of Wolves

Because the voracious wolves threaten to destroy her reindeer herds in Finnmark, northernmost province

in the Arctic Circle, Norwegian army planes and pilots have gone to the rescue in "Operation Wolf-Pack." The strafing method was successfully used in Canada to wipe out destructive wolf packs. It is believed that the animals are crossing into Finnmark from Russia, but no one has been able to ascertain their politics.

No More Ant Trails

Australian weathermen got fed up on the screwy weather they've been having. What's more, scientific forecasters have been far off the beam, their predictions embarrassingly inaccurate. So, an enterprising Sydney reporter visited an aboriginal reserve to find out what the natives had to say about the weather. Most of them had forgotten the ancient lore of ant trails and leaf reaction, but the newsman was referred to Fisherman Joe, "a plurry good weatherman" who lived over the hill. Joe confessed modestly that he had made only 20 mistakes in 15 years.

"What's your method?", he was asked. "Ant trails or leaves?".

"Him much too old-fashioned," smiled Joe. "Me use 'em barometer."

"Lang May Your Lum Reek"

In Scottish, this means "Long may your chimney smoke." And it looks like Scotland's chimneys will be smoking right hearty this year. Business men have invested £14,000,000 in 1108 new Scottish enterprises from cabinet making to sheep raising. De-

termined to stop being the "poor relation" of the United Kingdom, the Scottish Council for Development and Industry predicts that 1948 will be their biggest year for establishing new industries.

Real Indian

The designs of Indian textile w ers in Guatemala are now being ented. The government has set three-man Committee for the Co of Indian Fabrics in each Indian munity to register the designs an the same time try to assemble a plete collection of them for go ment files. This will put an end to selling of factory-made cloths, ei in Guatemala or abroad, under guise of Indian weaves.

Old Vic to the Rescue

Wool prices aren't the only t on the collective minds of the Aus ian Government. It's thinking up to develop the legitimate the "Down Under," with special em sis on amateur groups. Sir Laur Olivier, British stage and movie and head of the Old Vic Reper Company, has been called in as adviser. Petitions have been circul to Cabinet members by dramatica inclined Aussies, asking for state sidies for the amateur stage.

Apples in the Earth

Potato, in literal French, m "apple of the earth" (*pomme terre*). The Czechs have gone fur by inventing a potato that actu tastes like an apple and can eve

eaten raw. It was developed in Bohm botanical research laborato in Blatna. Among the many virtue this test-tube *pomme de terre* is a min C content, which can't be stroyed by boiling. Sandy soils Bohemia and Moravia are especi suitable for growing this new b of fruit-vegetable.

Food for Thought

Respecting its educational va the South African Government not charge the usual import tax Oscar-winning Hollywood m "The Best Years of Our Lives."

But when an organization in U. S. sent packages of canned and milk to needy Africans, the customs charges were levied.

un WORLD APRIL

introductions

AMBASSADOR WARREN R. AUSTIN, *"1096 Days of Progress," P. 9*

When Senator Warren R. Austin of Vermont (Rep.) was designated U. S. Ambassador to the Secretariat of the United Nations in 1946, he already had behind him a long career of public service dating back to 1904. He has served in many capacities, from States Attorney of Franklin County to United States Representative on the Security Council.

KRISHNA NEHRU, *author of* ..... *"And the Earth Mourns," P. 35*

Younger sister of Jawaharlal Nehru and Mme. Vjayalakshmi Pandit, Krishna Nehru has been active in Indian politics since she toured Europe with her famous brother in 1925 as his secretary. In 1947 she and her husband, Raja Hutheesing, traveled throughout the U. S. giving lectures. Like all the Nehrus, she was close to Gandhi all her life.

WILLIAM MAULDIN, *author of "Ike: Portrait of a General," P. 14*

Bill Mauldin, as everyone in the United States should know by now, served in the army from 1940 to 1945. His hard-hitting cartoons in the service paper, *Stars and Stripes*, won him a Pulitzer Prize in 1944. His syndicated drawings since have been equally famous. Now 26 years old his *Up Front* and *Back Home* have continuously headed best seller lists.

V. R. HAYA DE LA TORRE, ... *"Memo to U. S. Voters," P. 64*

The famous founder and head of Peru's Aprista party, Sr. Haya de la Torre has long been active in Peruvian politics. Often imprisoned and outlawed for his insistence on democratic and social reform, he is now a venerated figure in his own country and throughout Latin America. A prolific writer and a tireless worker, he recently visited the U. S.

TIBOR KOEVES, *author of* ..... *"Now, Now Voyager . . . ," P. 24*

Born in Hungary, Tibor Koeves studied at the Sorbonne then became correspondent for the largest newspaper in Hungary. He has traveled extensively and written a number of novels, including *The Barbarian* and *Timetable for Tramps*. His *Satan in Top Hat*, a best selling biography, was used as evidence against Von Papen at his Nuremberg trial.

ANNE FREMANTLE, *"Socialists on the Playing Fields of Eton," P. 30*

Mrs. Fremantle speaks of Eton with the authority of personal experience, since her husband, brother, four nephews and eldest son attended it, while her two younger sons are planning to follow in due course. In 1935 Mrs. Fremantle ran as Labor Candidate. She has done research for the British Embassy, and is now Assoc. Editor of *Commonweal*.

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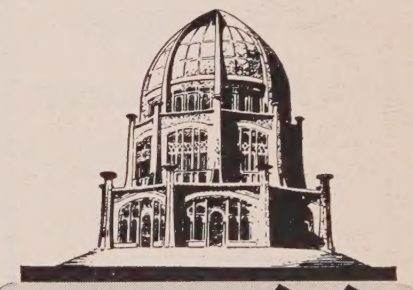

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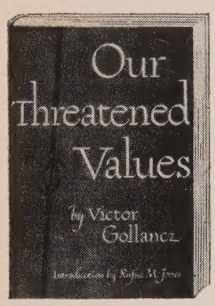

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A People's University has been established in Bolivia offering free extension courses in technical, commercial and education subjects. There are no admittance requirements. The University will have offices in La Paz and hold classes in schools already in existence there. For the population of Bolivia's interior, branches will be set up in several cities giving courses specially adapted to the areas. Students living too far away from any of the University's branches can get a 50 percent discount on train tickets and come to La Paz to study.

Suds From Suds

A U. S. chemical manufacturing company is making a hair shampoo from coffee of grades too poor to be drunk. Basic ingredients are the oils and tannic acid found in the coffee bean. The coffee shampoo will be in-

troduced this month at the International Beauty Show in New York. Its makers say it will widen Latin American coffee markets. They are also working on other products to be made from waste coffee.

Mind Over Machine

Pai Sung Chin, Korean "lightening calculator," can figure up income tax returns while the coffee boils. He's invented his own system, based on the 25-letter Korean alphabet, which he uses for multiplication, division and addition. In a recent contest staged by the U. S. Army, he added a column of 20 numbers (each with 5 to 7 digits) in 29½ seconds, beating seven abacus champions and two electric calculators by five seconds!

Cultural Contests in Caracas

Venezuela, whose new president, Rómulo Gallegos, is one of Latin America's greatest living novelists, has established two annual awards for outstanding literary and symphonic works by Venezuelan artists. The $3,000 literature prize will be awarded each December alternately for the best works in prose and poetry. The $1,500 music prize will be presented in October and affords the lucky composer three months' study abroad.

UN's Cohen (Chile) and Dolivet (UNW) flank Britain's Noel-Baker.

LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

Dear Reader:

One of the questions we are frequently asked is: "Where do you get your inside information, predictions and scoops?"

That's not a question that can be quickly answered, since our sources are many and varied. Our information comes from correspondents abroad and editors of UNW editions overseas. It comes from statesmen in foreign capitals, a great many of whom we number among our friends and subscribers. It comes officially from the UN, and less officially from UN delegates who feel they have a stake in our success. But perhaps the most important source is on-the-spot investigation by our own staff members.

UNW's staff is small but it manages to get around. In the space of a single week, recently, UNW saw off. • One correspondent to Germany, one to Palestine • Editorial Boardman Eliot Pratt to Denver • Managing Editor Ronald Schiller to Venezuela as guest of the government to attend the presidential inauguration.

At the same time UNW welcomed back one publisher (myself) from an extensive trip through France and North Africa. • International Editor Louis Dolivet, resting up from two recent trips to Europe, preparing for a third, stayed home to continue daily meeting with top UN diplomats.

Results of these peripatetics will appear in future issues.

Cordially,
Egbert White

Schiller (left), General Harry Vaughan, Venezuela's Garcia-Carias.

un WORLD

THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 2 No. 3

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UN's Headquarters as seen by artist Ginnie Hoffman.

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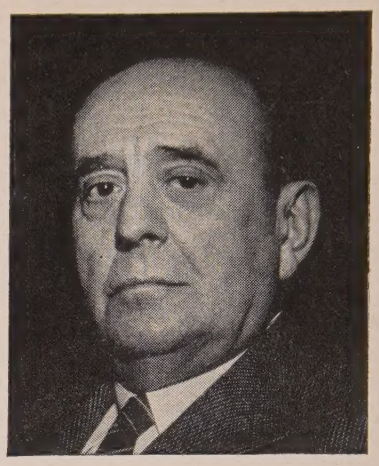


Jan Masaryk

GOODBYE, JAN!

It is with the deepest sorrow and sense of personal loss that we, the Editors and Staff of *United Nations World*, bid farewell to our friend and contributing editor Jan Masaryk, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, whose death by suicide was announced March 10.

His life was devoted to the ideals of one world to which his death lends emphasis.

He fought for a synthesis of east and west, for political and economic democracy. A great and lonely man, he succumbed when the tragedy that befell his beloved country demonstrated to the world how far mankind had drifted from his ideals.

The symbolism of his passing is unmistakable. It is a warning to humanity, and particularly to the leaders of the great powers, to re-evaluate the course of history which they are now shaping.

Jan Masaryk's suicide was contrary to his temperament and to his basic beliefs. He was gay, happy and easy going. He often remarked that true courage means to live through one's greatest personal difficulties. It meant to him to continue work even after his two sons were killed.

Goodbye, Jan! We shall never forget you and your brave fight.

1096 Days of Progress

by WARREN R. AUSTIN

In its first three years, the UN has done a tremendous job for world welfare and remains the only hope for world peace, writes the U. S. Ambassador to the United Nations in this exclusive article.

THE record of the first three years of the United Nations is discouraging only to the faint-hearted. Certainly, there have been disappointments. But there has been progress too. More than most people realize.

The conflicts that are prevented never make the headlines. Victories in the struggle against conditions that create conflict are rarely dramatic. Gains in creating the conditions of peace cannot be measured on a map. What ruler is there to use on such factors as production statistics, nutrition standards, and human attitudes? Faith in the United Nations requires more than reliance on a measuring rod.

Notwithstanding all the setbacks the fact remains that three years after San Francisco, the United Nations is the most successful example of international cooperation the world has ever seen. Never in history has an international organization undertaken with such serious determination to cover not only the political, but also the economic, trade, social and humanitarian relations among the nations.

Of course, in many instances the UN has not been able to overcome the vestiges of past suspicion and national rivalries. But without the UN, the world today would be without hope. In at least four dangerous situations — Iran, Indonesia, Greece and the conflict between India and Pakistan — the Security Council has laid a restraining hand on forces jeopardizing the peace.

In these, and in many other activities, the exercise of sovereignty has been done collectively. Despite the mounting international tensions, the United Nations grows in strength and in importance.

In the past three years the United Nations has blazed many trails through the wilderness of ancient hatreds, ambitions and ignorance. There are many barriers and dangerous shoals ahead. The goal of a peaceful world society will never be reached by wishful thinkers who put a time limit on their courage and their faith. Cynics and pessimists have no kinship with twentieth century pioneers.

The Charter is, itself, a monument to today's pioneers of the human spirit. It is easy to forget the labor required to secure agreement on the Charter. But I remember well the intensive work that began early in 1942 and continued constantly through meetings in Moscow in 1943, Dumbarton Oaks in 1944, and Yalta and San Francisco in 1945. The Charter represents a great measure of agreement; in my mind, the maximum Charter agreement possible at present.

SINCE the signing of the Charter three years ago this month, what specifically has been accomplished?

There is, first of all, the achievement in organization. The principal organs — the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the General Assembly — have been established and are meeting regularly. A secretariat of 4831 people has been gathered from 55 nations to serve these organs.

But that is just a fraction of the story. The Security Council has the Military Staff Committee, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Commission on Conventional Armaments working under its jurisdiction, and it has sent subsidiary groups to Greece and Indonesia. The Economic and Social Council has created 11 commissions and six subcommissions which are meeting at various points around the earth. These groups have, in turn, set up still

The 1st Year San Francisco meeting was lead by these statesman of the "Big Five."

further machinery for international cooperation. The Economic Commission for Europe, for example, has expert bodies at work on such common European problems as coal, timber, transport, and manpower. The Trusteeship Council has sent a committee of investigation to Western Samoa. The General Assembly has created special commissions to function in the Balkans, and in Korea and an Interim Committee made up of all member states to function between sessions of the General Assembly.

No other period in human history has shown a comparable record of organization for cooperative work on mutual problems.

The record of organizational achievement continues: Three specialized agencies that existed before the signing of the Charter have been made integral parts of the United Nations organizations. These are the International Labor Organization, the Universal Postal Union and the International Telecommunications Union. The uniting of the specialized agencies with the central organization represents a significant advance over the old League of Nations.

Five new specialized agencies have been established and made a part of the United Nations structure. They are the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the International Civil Aviation Organization and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization.

And at least five more are being brought to completion — the World Health Organization, the International Trade Organization, the International Refugee Organization, a maritime agency and an international organization of weather forecasters.

It is quite a catalogue. But it is worthwhile to list them. It reveals that there is hardly a phase of constructive human activity reaching across national boundaries that the United Nations is not seeking to promote.

In 1947 this network of organizations brought governmental representatives together at more than 1900 meetings! In 1948, the number of meetings will exceed 2500. The organized attacks on the problems facing the international community represented by these meetings is without parallel.

"Sure," the cynic replies, "you've built a lot of machi ery, but what good does it do?"

The truthful answer is that we will never know f certain, all the good that has been done. Let me cite example of what I mean.

Last fall, the Coast Guard cutter *Bibb* rescused 69 perso from the *Bermuda Sky Queen* when it was forced do at sea. It was quickly pointed out that credit for the resc should go to the International Civil Aviation Organizati which had established a north Atlantic weather observ tion and rescue system of which the *Bibb* was a pa And, of course, the exchange of radio messages was a sisted by the existence of the International Telecommu cations Union. The more important fact was not mentione nor was it even remembered. That fact is this: that t daily routine functioning of these weather ships preven many such dramatic and more tragic events from ev taking place. Thousands of transoceanic airplane pa sengers arrive safely at their destinations without knowi of the help they have had from the ICAO, or without ev being aware of its existence. Yet, because of it, diploma business men, teachers, students, correspondents, a others move from country to country, from continent continent with greater speed and in greater safety. W can ever give an accurate estimate of how much the ICA has contributed toward helping nations and peoples work together more effectively?

It is possible to list specific accomplishments; and it is impressive record. Yet I think it is fair to claim t even the most complete list merely *suggests* the actual a complishments. The indirect benefits, the trouble averte will never appear on the balance sheet.

For some time to come, the most signal accomplis ments will be those of the specialized agencies and relat efforts in the economic and social field. The postwar yea have demonstrated clearly that political agreement is di cult in the midst of economic chaos, human misery a despair.

By working through the specialized agencies and such efforts as the European Recovery Program, we c gradually create the conditions that will make politic agreements possible. People who see something other th hunger and frustration ahead will refuse to be intimidat or ruled by organized, despotic minorities. If people a lifted from the slough of economic despondency they w have a better chance of exerting their will for peacef cooperative relationships. Our desire for peace, therefo requires that we give earnest support to the measures th will develop the specialized agencies. The experience the past three years warrants this support.

Hunger is the germ of many political ills. Today thre quarters of the people on this earth have a less-tha adequate diet. With expected increase in population, fo production must be increased 110 percent in the ne 25 years if mass hunger is to be averted.

What is the Food and Agriculture Organization doi about this?

It has established the World Food Council to he allocate exportable food surpluses and fertilizers, to pr mote the production and distribution of farm machine and to focus attention on the dangerous food situatio It has picked outstanding agricultural experts for speci

'he 2nd Year Assembly meeting of 51 nations was held in Westminister Hall, London.

ssions to Greece, Poland and Siam to work out plans increased agricultural production in these countries. has held international conferences to increase produc- n of rice, cereals and timber. It has helped the countries the Near East to begin work on deep well irrigation and iinage projects. It has helped Peru establish refrigera- n and storage facilities for its fishing industry and has en similar help to Iran, Czechoslovakia and China. There other food producing projects under way such as field nonstration schools in Europe on hybrid corn, artificial emination and veterinary techniques. All of these efforts resent the mobilizing of the world's best minds to ke their knowledge, experience and techniques avail- e to the greatest number of people. And I have, by means, covered all the activities undertaken by FAO. For example, FAO advice was involved in the loans anced by the International Bank for the purchase of icultural and industrial machinery. This relationship l become even more significant as improved economic iditions enable the International Bank to turn its atten- n from loans for purposes of reconstruction to loans the development of untapped resources in the less de- oped areas of the world. Thus far, the Bank has made ns to France, the Netherlands, Denmark and Luxem- irg which total half a billion dollars; all of them for such cific essentials as steel-mill equipment, locomotives and m machinery.

The distribution, as well as the production, of commodi- is being promoted by the United Nations. Efforts to iblish an International Trade Organization have already ilted in the most significant negotiations in the history world trade. Agreement was reached among 23 coun- s, representing 70 percent of the world's international imerce, for reduction of numerous trade barriers. Over separate agreements were reached. Continuation of the k begun will eliminate the economic nationalism ch, probably as much as than any other single factor, to the last World War.

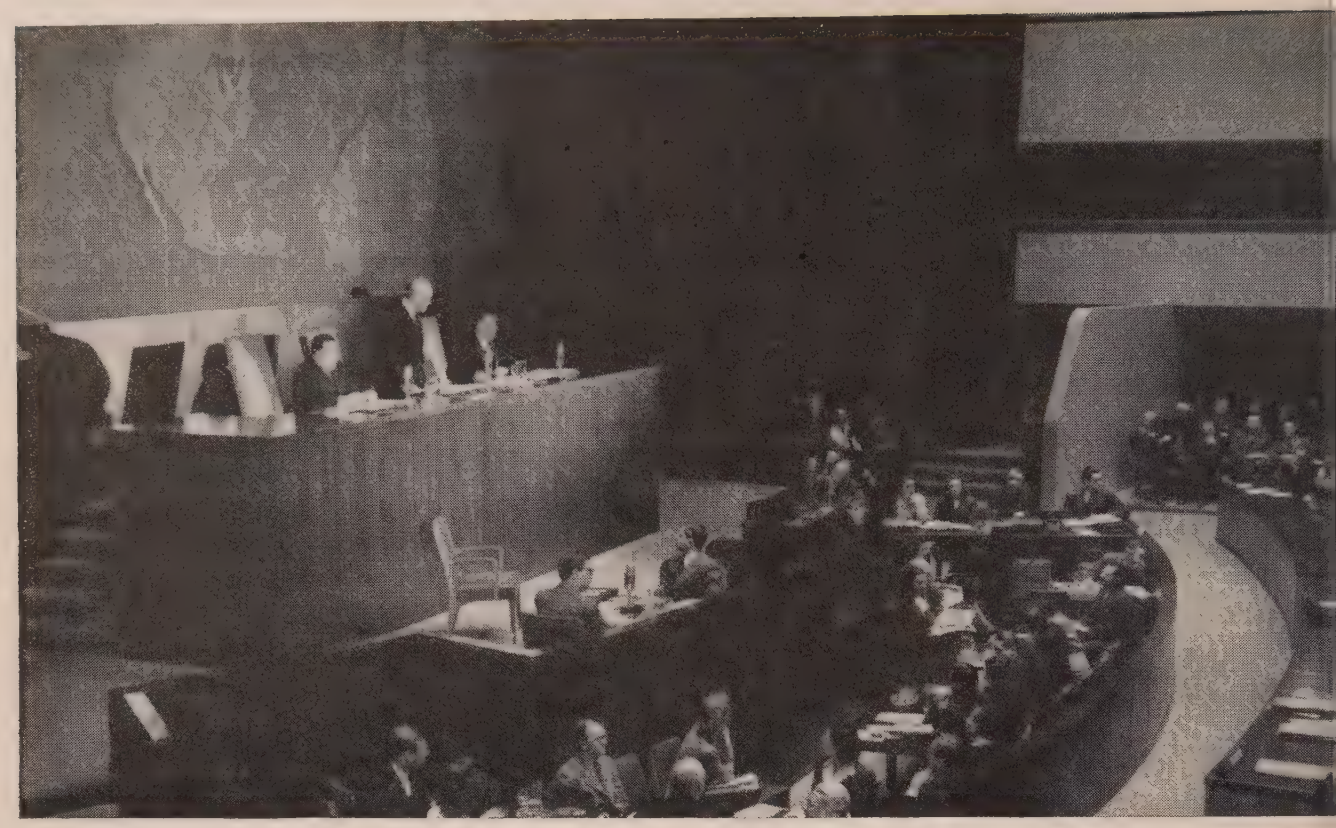
NE of the most dramatic proofs of the value of inter- national cooperation has been provided by the rld Health Organization. Last fall a serious cholera epidemic in Egypt threatened the entire Middle East. The WHO with the aid of ICAO collected vaccine from 15 nations and delivered it to Egypt. The disease was confined to Egypt and was brought under control within two months. It was the first time in medical history that an epidemic which spread at a rate of more than a thousand cases a day had been brought under control so quickly. This action was achieved even though WHO is not yet formally established. In addition, it has set up 11 expert committees for world-wide attacks on such huge man-killers as malaria, yellow fever, and tuberculosis. It has established a fellowship program under which 200 specialists in public health from nine countries are receiving advanced training. Groups of experts have been sent to aid the health authorities of China, Ethiopia, Greece, Italy, Poland, Austria and Hungary. The final establishment of the agency will represent a significant advance in the campaign to promote the physical well-being of mankind.

Other humanitarian achievements stand high on the record of the United Nations' first three years. Food supplies have been provided for more than five million starving children in Europe and in Asia through the Children's Emergency Fund. The International Refugee Organization has found new homes for nearly 80,000 displaced persons who can thank the United Nations for the chance to begin new lives.

Hunger's major ally in obstructing world unity is ignorance. The efforts of UNESCO to combat ignorance and implant the idea of peace in the minds of men are outstandingly important. In its first few months of operation, UNESCO has helped to restore educational facilities in war-torn areas. Books for libraries, materials of all kinds for schools, scientific equipment for laboratories, instruments for musicians, fellowships and training scholarships for students and teachers have been provided. Pilot projects to develop methods for mass attacks on illiteracy have been prepared for Haiti, China and British East Africa. School text books to promote better understanding of international problems are being planned and last summer the first seminar on International Understanding brought together educators from 31 different countries. The United Nations has recognized that One World can not be achieved while half of the world community remains illiterate. Moreover it has started to do something about it.

I HAVE said enough, I think, to give some idea of the scope and importance of the work already launched by the specialized agencies. Some of these agencies have been in operation only a few months. Still others are just being organized. But they are forging ahead in the gigantic task of creating the conditions of peace from the rubble of conflict. Their work is subject to the general guidance of the Economic and Social Council which is, itself, making significant contributions to the general good.

The Economic Commission for Europe, for example, has broken numerous bottlenecks that were choking European production. Conveyor belts, lining for steel mill furnaces, are examples of vital shortages which the Commission is removing through expert planning and cooperative action. More efficient truck transportation, better freight car distribution, allocation of coal supplies are other specific achievements of the ECE. In addition, its facilities have helped in planning the European Recov-



The 3rd Year saw the Assembly, with Brazil's Oswaldo Aranha in the chair, meeting in a beautifully remodeled civic bu in Flushing Meadow. The headquarters of the UN organization was housed in nearby Lake Success, New

ery Program and will become increasingly important in the execution of that program.

Similar action is being taken in other geographic regions. These groups, together with such bodies as the Economic and Employment Commission, are giving guidance and direction to the irrepressible drive of the underdeveloped regions of the earth toward better use of their human and material resources.

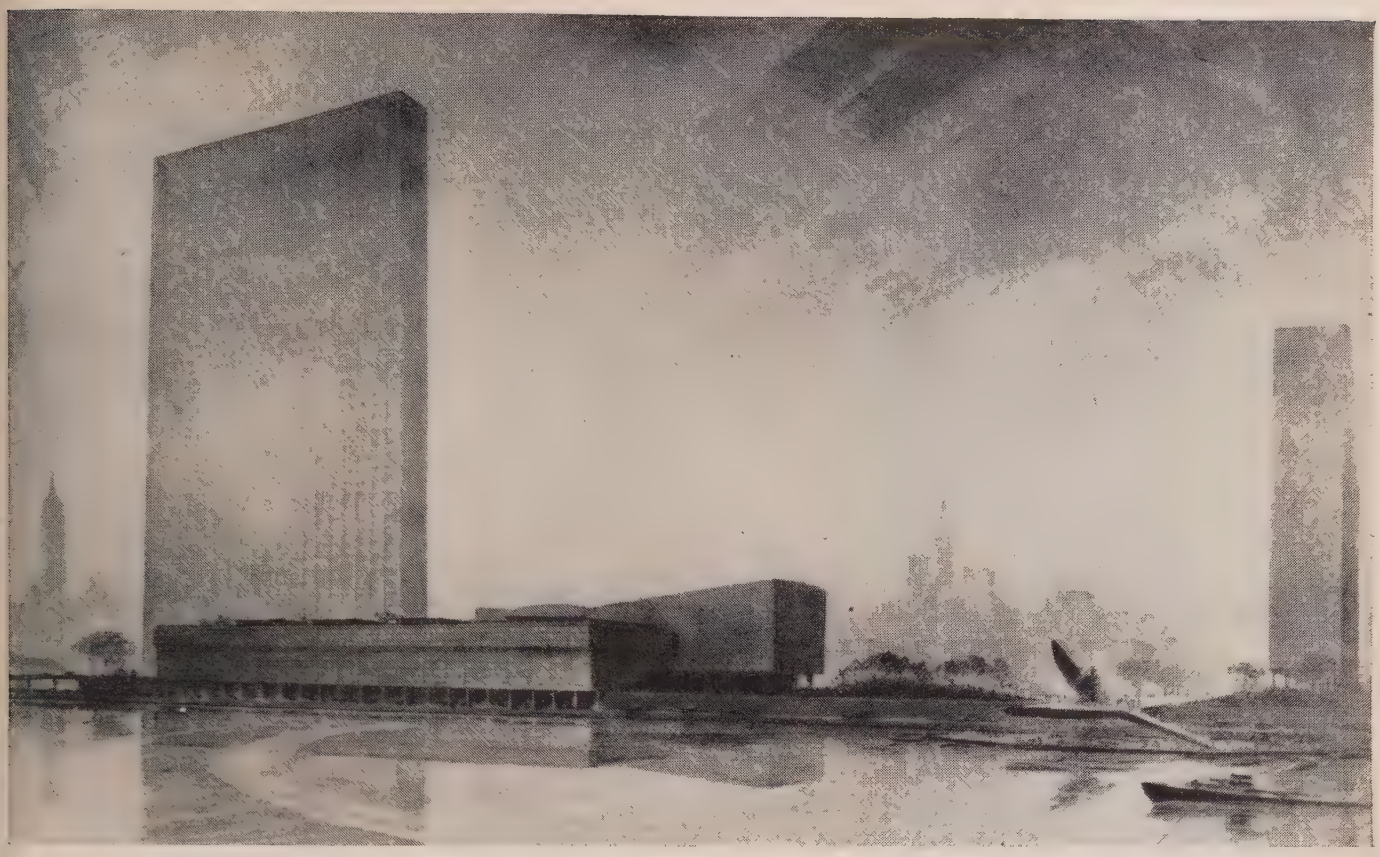
UNESCO's efforts to implant peace in the minds of men is being supplemented in many ways. The Commission on Human Rights is seeking to extend guarantees of individual liberties. The subcommission on Freedom of the Press is attacking barriers to the flow of information among peoples. The drafting of conventions on genocide and individual responsibility for aggressive war, the codification of international law — all these are part of definition steps that have been taken by the United Nations to uplift the ethical standards of mankind.

The endless multiplication of the positive acts I have mentioned would not be possible without the machinery of the United Nations. It is developing the habit of cooperation among an increasing number of nations in an increasing number of fields. It is compiling a steadily growing list of demonstrable benefits of international collaboration. Sooner or later, this record will begin to penetrate into the political field. I believe that when it does, many of the dissensions that have darkened the past three years will begin to clear away.

It would be unfair and inaccurate, however, to suggest that the United Nations has not been a valuable instrument for promoting political settlements. The fashionable attitude that misuse of the veto is paralyzing the Sec Council is not supported by the facts. Certainly Security Council's strength has been impaired by the ferences that have divided the great powers, but it succeeded nevertheless in exercising its peace-kee functions in a number of important situations.

The Security Council succeeded in inducing the S Union to withdraw its troops from the territory of It has not brought peace to Greece, but the Council its Commission of Investigation undoubtedly upse timetable of the aggressors and gave us the opportuni help Greece in its struggle for freedom. The withdr of British and French troops from Syria and Lebanon in response to a Security Council resolution.

One of the most exciting and most important histo facts of our time is the great surge of the Asiatic pe toward independence. In the three years since the Ch was signed, over half a billion people have gained right of self-government. This movement — of cr importance to our developing civilization — is recei constructive assistance from the Security Council. helping the newly established free governments of I and Pakistan — on whom 400 million people rely fo fulfillment of their aspirations — to adjust the differe that brought them to the verge of conflict. And in I nesia, the Security Council has stopped a war and ha gun helping 90 million people toward self-governm The Council's Committee of Good Offices not only sec a trauce but it obtained agreement to a set of fundam principles of freedom, democracy, and cooperation ing toward the early formation of an independent U States of Indonesia.



The Future will see the UN move into its permanent headquarters buildings on the shores of Manhattan's East River. These seven square blocks of strikingly designed skyscrapers and assembly halls in 1949 will become the world's capital.

Even where the Security Council has failed to achieve agreements it has led to better understanding of the problems we face. The work of the Atomic Energy Commission is a notable example of this. For two years the Commission has been working out plans for an effective international organization to insure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only. As a result of that work, the nations are acquiring a better understanding of what are the irreducible minima for effective control. Only the Soviet Union, the Ukraine and Poland have been unable to agree with the majority. But in disagreeing, they have helped to make still more clear to the majority what does *not* constitute effective control. On a subject of such vital importance as atomic energy, the value of this educational process cannot be over-estimated. Similar results have emerged from the work of the Military Staff Committee and the Commission for Conventional Armaments.

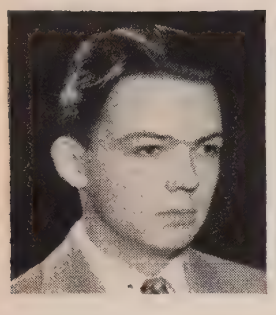
One of the greatest values of the United Nations is least apparent. Those of us who work in the United Nations have only gradually become aware of it. It is a powerful force that requires a little explanation.

I have mentioned that there will be approximately 2500 meetings held this year by the United Nations. The United States, as a great power, will participate in nearly all of them. For each meeting we will have to have a *policy*. Consequently, we and other member nations are forced to reach policy decisions at a rate that was never before required. The fact of recurring public meetings where a nation cannot long remain silent has become a relentless disciplinarian for the makers of public policy. They, like other human beings, would prefer to postpone the making of difficult decisions. The United Nations does not permit this luxury. Moreover, individual national views are brought together under a single United Nations spotlight. Inconsistencies quickly become apparent. A nation's total foreign policy is subjected to global scrutiny. Weaknesses, omissions, reversals now can rarely be hidden or glossed over. Thanks to the United Nations, steady, responsible and conscientious policies and actions are required of the member states more than ever before. A nation which fails to meet this discipline soon finds respect for its standing and prestige in the international community declining rapidly. As governments become overwhelmingly aware of this fact, its repercussions will be profound.

The evidence of United Nations achievement could be piled still higher. I have merely mentioned the Trusteeship Council and the progress that is being made in advancing the welfare and political status of people in non-self-governing territories. And I have barely referred to the General Assembly and its Interim Committee. This "Town Meeting of the World" has demonstrated its vigor in many ways — in Greece, in Korea, in Palestine, to mention but a few of the items that have appeared on the crowded agendas of its meetings. And now the Interim Committee is seeking to develop instruments for the conciliation of disputes between nations.

A look at the full record of the United Nations should take into account the disappointments. Even so, one can marvel that so much has been accomplished in so short a time. The doubters should review the first three years of our American national history. I believe I have said enough about these first three years of the United Nations to prove its vitality and to justify faith in its future.

"Ike"—PORTRAI



One of the war's best known G.I.'s tells what he knows — and thinks — of America's most famous college president.

BY BILL MAULDIN

IN the middle of 1944 a picture of General Dwight Eisenhower inspecting some infantry soldiers was released by SHAEF Public Relations, and it turned up on the desk of the Italy edition of *Stars and Stripes* along with the dozens of other war pictures which were sent to army and civilian newspapers every day. To the papers back home which printed the picture, it was just another photo of the popular "Ike," but to the soldier-editors of *Stars and Stripes* it was a rather significant shot of Eisenhower's character, and the army paper printed it, although its usual policy was to pass up brass hat pictures on the grounds that soldiers saw enough brass outside their paper.

The men Eisenhower was inspecting in the photograph were under the command of a general, shown beside "Ike," who was famous for his fanaticism about spit-and-polish. This stern general levied fines, usually ranging from 25 to 50 dollars, for all kinds of breaches of uniform regulations, and of all the offences which infuriated the general, the carrying of one's hands in one's pockets was the worst. Legends spread through the army about the general's almost psychopathic fixation on the subject of pocketed hands. It was said that the general had petitioned the War Department to order the Quartermaster General to construct all new uniforms without pockets in the pants. This was probably untrue, but soldiers were so jumpy about it that when in the stern general's area they always hesitated and looked furtively around for signs of MP's before even fishing briefly in their britches for a smoke. Twenty-five to 50 dollars was a lot of money. This isn't an editorial on the merits or faults of such Prussian-like military discipline. It is just by way of pointing out that the stern general was not likely to win any army popularity polls, and to explain to non-military readers the significance of the photo of Eisenhower inspecting the infantrymen.

With the stern general right beside him, Eisenhower was standing at ease, grinning at a dogface who was also standing at ease and grinning back — and Ike's hands were deeply imbedded in his pockets.

SUPERFICIALLY, one's immediate reaction to this picture is to say, "Bravo for the Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force. Bless his democratic bones. By putting his hands in his pants he is subtly rebuking old pickle-face, who is standing there looking as if he had eaten something disagreeable."

But nothing could be more wrong. If Eisenhower had done that deliberately, he would have been at fault on all counts. He would have been violating a primary rule of hospitality which exists both in and out of the army. When you are visiting a man's house or an army officer's outfit, courtesy requires you to abide by the host's laws and customs. Secondly, if Eisenhower had knowingly put his hands in his pocket, he would have been committing the army's worst crime — that of going over an of-

OF A GENERAL

ficer's head in front of that officer's men. He would have been taking advantage of his rank in a most offensive way. But it was not Eisenhower's character to do that deliberately, and he would have been shocked, ashamed, and apologetic if someone had reminded him of what he was doing. The fact is that he put his hands in his pockets because it was the natural thing to do when relaxing in a standing position.

He was asking some tired characters questions about a piece of the war they had been fighting or a piece they were about to fight (from their looks I would say the former) and he was thinking about their answers. Eisenhower was militaristic insofar as it was necessary to win the war, and no further. His attitude toward our citizen-army was both realistic and healthy. He had grown up in the army, but he knew that the last thing ninety per cent of our wartime army wanted was to be made into stiff-necked professional soldiers. They had been drafted into a messy business, and they knew they could not go home and shed their uniforms until the big job was done, so they were willing to accept what discipline and discomfort was necessary in order to do the job right, but they rebelled heartily against commanders who seemed to regard the war as a glorious opportunity to show off their medals, stage picturesque reviews and parades, and who sometimes seemed to be more interested in the sharpness of the creases in a man's trousers than in his ability to get the war finished.

EISENHOWER caught the spirit of the citizen-soldiers, and therein lay the secret of his immense popularity throughout the army. His every act and every pose seemed to say, "I know you gents don't want to be soldiers all your lives, and if you'll just rock along with the army and its chicken ways and do your jobs right, it won't be long until you're out of it."

No doubt the frowning general beside Eisenhower in the photo was thinking about the war, but he was obviously thinking of many other things, too. He was thinking that these dirty-faced muckleheads should be standing at attention in the presence of their Supreme Commander and himself; he was thinking that one mucklehead should have made some attempt at shaving, and that the idiotic private-first-class behind him was going to catch merry hell about his torn pants as soon as the Supreme Commander was out of earshot. He was going to teach this lousy bunch of civilians to learn to appreciate the glories of wearing the lusterless olive drab of the military service. Officers of his type were so in love with the blaze of ribbons and the shine of buttons that they could never understand the mentality of men who didn't like the army and thought war was horrible.

Eisenhower came home after the war to what could have been one of the greatest receptions ever given a conquering hero in the world's

history. If he had wished, he could have paraded in every city in America — every city in the Allied world, in fact — and he would have been assured of a cheering turnout by every man, woman and child who could have walked, run, crawled or crept to see him pass. Actually, he paraded very little — as little as he could get away with — and at every opportunity he reminded people that if they insisted on creating heroes, the ones to cheer were not the professional soldiers, but the kids who were forced into the army, who were forced to fight and get hurt, and yet turned in a remarkably good job.

He endeared himself ever more to the veterans of the war by this behavior. The men who had come back had been sickened by the spectacle of the flamboyant and beribboned show-offs among the important brass hats who had gained celebrity out of a war which was a never-ending horror of boredom, mud, death, hurt, and discomfort to its participants. There were several who made themselves available for vulgar display in every city, town and village which would provide them with brass bands, tinsel lined streets, and a seat on the tonneau of the major's open Cadillac, preceded and followed by a convoy of red-nosed motorcycle cops and a detachment of pot-bellied American Legionaires.

All the big generals had to do some parading. But there was a vast difference between those who did it because they had to and those who did it because they loved it and considered going to war amid the clash of cymbals and returning amid the thunder of cheers, a career, a life, and an end in itself. Eisenhower clinched the hold he had on the affections of his former soldiers by one widely reported incident in the mi dle of the reception thrown for hi in his home town in Kansas.

The inevitable heckler shoved hi self up and said, "You think you' big stuff now, don't you?"

Eisenhower grinned at him and r plied, "Who said I did?"

Almost anybody else would ha been glad to let the red-nosed co and the white-gloved MP's hand this peasant. Deep down in his hea Eisenhower is no militarist. The be part of what we lovingly and smug call the "American spirit" is a sens of the importance of little people an a sense of derision toward big peop who try to wear an aura of immorta ity and untouchability.

Eisenhower is aware of that spir and he respects it. As one wh doesn't consider politics as an inferi calling, I think that man is a fir politician.

Although Eisenhower could have come home to one of the greatest receptions ever give a conquering hero, he paraded as little as he could. Among honors he could not avoi were decorations from Egypt and China (above), swords from Holland and London (below)

The System

Some utterly astonishing legal complications stand between a man and his drink in Sweden.

STOCKHOLM almost won us to Socialism with its magnificent parks, superb housing facilities, the spotlessly clean streets and fine old buildings. Almost, that is, until we met The System, one of the most astonishingly involved programs ever devised by a paternalistic state to guard the welfare of its citizens.

We first encountered The System on entering a pleasant outdoor cafe to buy a drink for a Stockholmite who had befriended us and spent the day showing us his city. Innocently we asked our friend what he would have.

"A 'double-light.'" he replied, "is all the spirits we can have without ordering food."

We did not understand. Briefly, our friend explained that without food the government allows the citizen only five centiliters (about a jigger) of liquor. This ration is to be served, well diluted with water or a soft drink, in two 2½ centiliter doses.

So, we ordered two "double-lights" and sat back in pleasant anticipation. After several minutes a buxom blonde approached our table, bearing a tray with four large milk-shake glasses, each about a third full of a light brown liquid, resembling the dregs of a weak

BY NATHANIEL McKITTERICK

"Women . . . considered twice as susceptible to the evils of liquor . . . receive only half rations."

highball after the ice had melted. Solemnly she set the tray on the table and poured the contents of two of the glasses into the other two, taking away the empty ones. Our curiousity grew.

"The law says you can't serve more than two and a half centiliters in one glass," our friend explained. "Silly, isn't it?"

We agreed.

"You see," he continued, "the wise old men of our government don't think the Swede's capacity for spirits is up to international standards, so they're curtailing consumption." We pointed out that the United States had tried the same thing during prohibition, and the liquor merchants had made millions on the resulting increase in thirst.

"Same thing's happening here," our friend replied. "Now anyone who goes out to eat feels he's missing something if he doesn't buy all the liquor the law allows."

"How much is one allowed to drink if one orders food?" we asked. Our friend drew a deep breath, as if preparing for a long swim under water.

"It depends on one's economic status and one's sex." He pointed out that there are three classes of restaurants in Stockholm, conveniently catalogued first, second and third, depending on the prices they charge. The Swedish authorities have made concessions to income by allowing higher priced restaurants to serve greater quantities of liquor. First class patrons rate 15 centiliters of spirits (about three jiggers), second class patrons get only 12 centiliters, while third class patrons have to be content with eight.

But, our friend hastened to add, this was only for male drinkers. Women are considered twice as susceptible to the evils of liquor and consequently receive only half rations in each instance.

We drained a double-light and looked around for another. Then a horrible suspicion swept over us. The clean restaurant with its staff of blossoming waitresses was beginning to take on the air of an inisidious trap, designed to chastise the unsuspecting tippler.

"Third class?", we hazarded.

"Of course!" our friend replied.

We immediately asked for the check and prepared for a change of scenery, driven by a stubborn urge to quench our thirsts. Victims of circumstance, we were forced to contribute ninety cents apiece to the maintenance of The System.

OUT on the street again, our feelings against The System subsided somewhat at the sight of a cool park, a concert orchestra and rows of Nordic belles draped on the grass. We marked the spot for future reference and proceeded across the square to a row of restaurants on the other side.

"How," we asked our friend, "can you tell one class of restaurant from another?"

"Why, by the appearance, of course, and the type of bouncer the establishment employs. First class restaurants usually station a man dressed in tails or a cutaway just inside the door. Bouncers in second class places wear street clothes and are, as often as not, muscular females. Third class bouncers are uniformed much in the manner of the local police force.

Also, Swedish restaurants are marked with signs reading: "Under the Price Control Act of J—, 19—, sect. IV, para. C, this restaurant is classified 1 A." The "A," we learned, can be freely translated as "most expensive." 1 B would be "very expensive," and 1 C just "expensive."

Gauging the thickness of our wallet, we decided on a second (or middle) class restaurant. The place we entered was much like the previous establishment, except that there were tablecloths and the waitresses seemed less buxom. Our friend suggested another double-light. Politely but firmly we refused, despite his assurance that it would be more palatable here.

"If you want anything else, you'll have to order food," he warned us.

"What constitutes food?" we asked slyly.

"First of all it must be cooked, but then again all cooked food isn't legal. Oysters might do, even raw, but pan-

"Bouncers in second class places wear street clothes and are . . . often . . . muscular females."

kes are out. They are dessert, you , and desserts don't count. The law rs you must pay at least one crown y (about 50 U. S. cents) for your d. Second class restaurants usually arge a two crown minimum, while st class places generally take two d a half crowns."

We pointed out that we didn't really nt any food, we weren't in the least ngry.

'Oh, that's all right," said our end soothingly, "probably no one e in the restaurant does either. The nagement will take care of it. All u have to do is to pay the legal nimum as though you *had* ordered d."

THERE was a momentary battle between our thirst and our out- ed sense of justice. Stealing furtive nces at our neighbors, we ordered avit, a violent concoction, made of atoes, rye and corn, popular with Swedes despite governmental edicts cerning their inability to cope with h mixtures. The waitress returned ring a tray with two jiggers of ak- it, two plates and a thoroughly un- etizing bowl of peas.

Our friend raised his glass in a for- Swedish "*skal*." We followed suit, ining it in one gulp, as tradition nanded. The resulting warmth in stomachs gave us courage. We le a move towards the peas, but e stopped by a grip on our wrist.

"Those aren't to eat," said our friend in a shocked voice. "They have probably been used for weeks now. The management wouldn't know what to make of it if somebody ate them. It simply isn't done."

We peered at the peas suspiciously and ordered another akvavit to celebrate our narrow escape. On bringing the second round, the waitress carefully took the bowl of peas and spilled three or four on each of the plates that had lain unnoticed beside us on the table. We weren't fooled. Even the threat of instant starvation couldn't have forced us to touch them now.

Our friend hastened to assure us that no harm was meant. He explained that Swedes are among the most law-abiding people in the world. Consequently, when the law said that patrons ordering spirits must be served food on plates, restaurant managers insist that the plates be dirtied in some manner. We *skaled* him for relieving our fears.

"That's eight centiliters gone," our friend remarked after the second round had been consumed. "What shall we top it off with?"

"Akvavit!" we sang out, now thoroughly mellow, despite the legal ordeal we had suffered.

"No," replied our friend, cutting short our enthusiasm. "Only eight centiliters of akvavit allowed in second class restaurants. They allow you ten in first class places (bigger jiggers you know), but in third class they cut you off at four. The rest of the ration must be in the form of some other spirit."

Encircled by the law we meekly settled for a glass of cognac. With the last round came the check. We had contributed the sum of $8.30 more to The System.

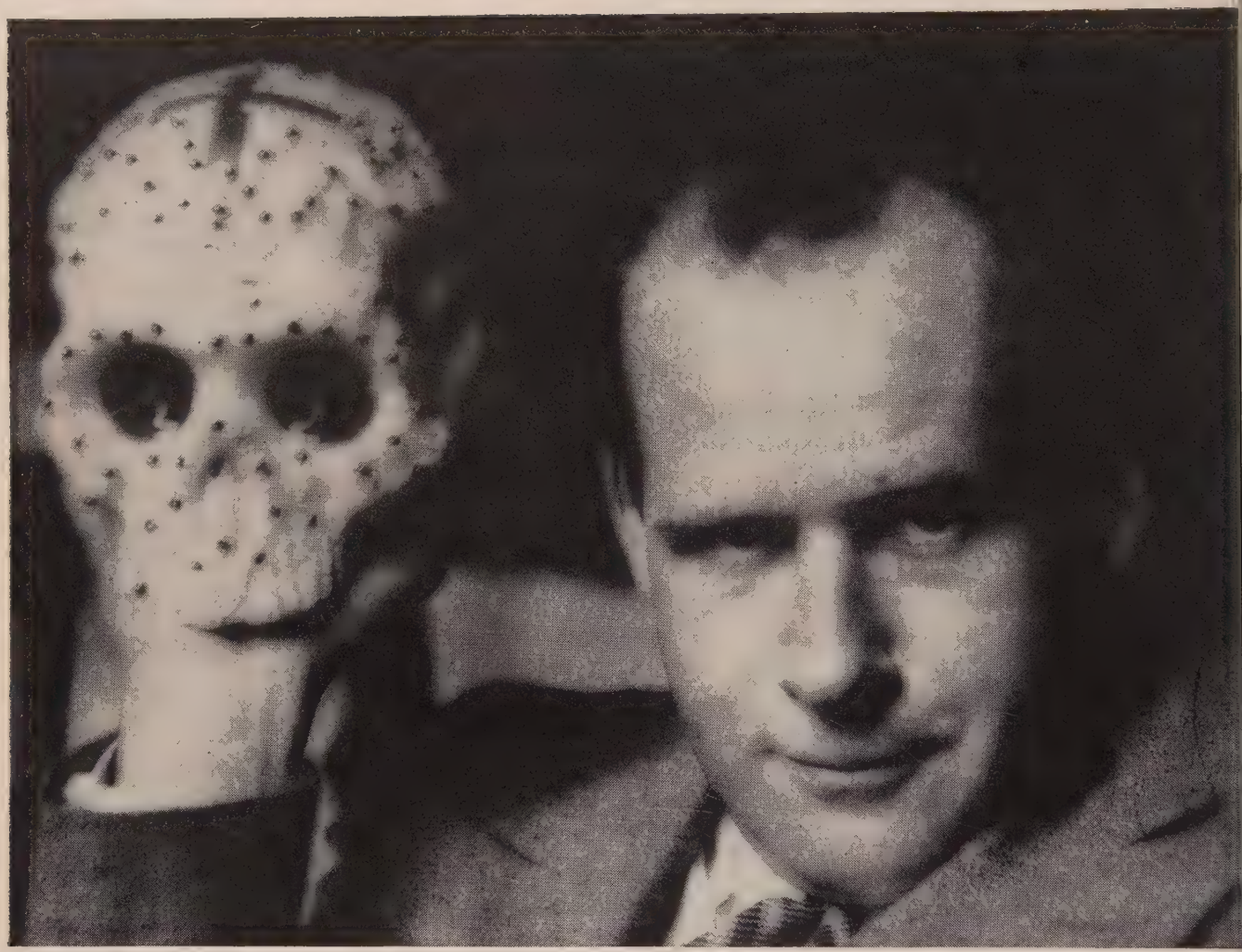
WE left the restaurant smarting in defeat. The soothing effect of the akvavit gave way to brooding melancholy over our encounter with such a monster as The System in so appealing an environment as Stockholm. In desperation we suggested, with trepidation "How about a nightcap at home?"

"Well," said our friend amiably, "You're allowed only one liter of spirits a month, you know; that is if you are over twenty-five and making around two hundred dollars a month. You can get two if you are married, but then the wife doesn't rate any. If you have a much larger income, you can get more, or if you are older—that is, of course, if you have paid your taxes and still have anything left. Professors get a larger ration too—reputation you know, and they do make allowances for 'business purposes'—'representation' we call it. But that, of course, depends on. . . ."

Leaving him still reciting The System, we fled through the streets back to the hotel.

Eisenstein

BY LEO LANIA



In 1932, Serge Eisenstein, already recognized as one of the world's greatest film directors, posed with this candy skull in Mexico.

IT was in the early Twenties. Then, as now, cold, hunger, and misery stalked the streets of Berlin. The city writhed with fever. Ghostly figures and stock quotations flitted through every dwelling. In everyone's blood the inflation worked like a corroding poison. People felt paralyzed and yet goaded to activity, dead tired yet wide awake; whatever a man tried to grasp seemed to slip through his fingers, reality and make-believe intermingled fantastically; all human relations were dissolved, life crumbled away into an incomprehensible puzzle of algebraic figures and no one had the strength left to investigate their meaning.

One day a rumor ran through the "Romanisches Cafe," the haven of Berlin's intellectuals. "Potemkin," a Soviet film, had arrived! The writers, actors and artists who lived on *ersatz* and who found reality only in their dreams flocked to the "Romanisches" as to a church. The search for a well-heated room and a regular warm meal being Utopian, their debates about proletarian culture, poetry and the revolutionary theater had the fervor of religious services.

Yet, no one had ever seen a Soviet play and according to the self-appointed spokesmen of Soviet art, the Russian Revolution meant the triumph of futurism and cubism. Tsarism had been destroyed, they believed, primarily in order to give one hundred sixty million Russian peasants a chance appreciate the marvels of mod paintings, music, sculpture and the tricacies of expressionistic plays.

These radical Berlin intellectu were not the only ones to be stun by "Potemkin," which had its fi showing in a third-rate cinema in lower Friedrichstrasse. But they w the first to shout praise of its direct Eisenstein. His strength overpowe them and they surrendered ecsta ally. The Berlin triumph brou Eisenstein recognition internationa which he had not yet achieved in Soviet Union.

As revolutionary as was Eisenstei technique, his method of using camera as his principal actor—spe

The Man Who Died Twice

ing more eloquently and movingly than any star ever could — the film had the simplicity and perfection of a classic. There was nothing experimental, nothing modernistic about it. The story dealt with a Russian historical event, but it was timeless and although in the following months and years hundreds of essays were written to prove that Eisenstein was a typical product of Russia and the Bolshevik Revolution, in my opinion Eisenstein's greatness and genius were determined by his spiritual affinity with the best traditions of Western, not Eastern, European culture.

That was the period in the Russian Revolution dominated by the "Old Bolsheviks," men and women whose first loyalties belonged not to Panslavic ideals or Holy Russia but to the liberalism of the great French Revolution and to humanity.

S. M. EISENSTEIN had been brought up in those traditions. He was a Jew, son of a well-to-do middle-class family, a native of Latvia. When I first met him in Berlin, his only revolutionary characteristic was his wild brown hair which stood like a whisk broom on top of his round head. His German was flawless, his knowledge of French and English literature, remarkable. What distinguished him from most of the German and French revolutionary intellectuals was his inner balance; he suffered no neuroses nor inferiority complexes, he didn't need to escape into an idolatry of "the masses," and he never doubted himself.

"I found out what your initials 'S. M.' stand for," I told him once in German.

He laughed. He understood immediately. "S. M." was the German abbreviation for "Seine Majestat" — His Majesty.

ONE could not imagine Eisenstein falling in love — in fact he did not care much for women and remained an invincible bachelor all his life. Very un-Russian, he was a modest drinker. But he was addicted to one great passion: the machine. He regarded his "General Line" the motion picture of Soviet collectivization, as his most important work and could never understand why it did not win the acclaim of "Potemkin."

"It is so cold!" I said to him. "So unhuman!"

He shrugged his shoulders. "You are a sentimentalist!" he replied.

If one compares the early films of Eisenstein with those of Pudovkin, the other great pioneer of Soviet film art, the difference emerges clearly.

Pudovkin, a poet, was moved by his feelings — pity, compassion for the individual — Eisenstein by his passion for pictorial effects. "Potemkin," "General Line," "Ten Days That Shook the World" — there is not a single human episode in them one can remember, like the unforgettable grief of Pudovkin's "Mother." One cannot forget Eisenstein's tremendous staircase with the bodies rolling down it in "Potemkin," or the vermin-ridden food the sailors are given, their mutiny, the tractors conquering the field in "General Line," the monuments of the Tsars in "Leningrad" as first seen by the subjugated peasants.

PUDOVKIN was guided by his heart, Eisenstein by his eye. And he had the sharp eye of an engineer. I doubt if any other director of any nation had his profound knowledge of the camera. He and the camera were one. True, he had the good fortune of having as his cameraman Tisse, one of the greatest living photographers. They never separated, but it was Eisenstein's vision, his uncanny flair for the symbolic power of an angle, a shot, the close-up of a seemingly unimportant detail that guided the work of his collaborator.

Passionately in love with the machine, Eisenstein felt closer to Ameri-

Eisenstein made his own sketches for costumes.

Eisenstein (right) filmed "Ivan's" battle scenes during war on deserts of Central Asia.

can technical science than to the Russian soul. "I want to go to America!" he confessed to me at our first meeting. I was incredulous.

"I want to study there. Paris, London, Rome — they have nothing to teach us. But New York, Chicago — America's architecture, Ford, the steel mills of Pittsburgh, the coal mines, the slaughter houses — there you can find the themes for the great epic of the Twentieth Century!"

His cold gray eyes glittered.

A few years later we met again in London, Eisenstein's wish had been fulfilled. He had been to America. He had worked in Hollywood. He was utterly disillusioned, enraged by the commercialism, the cheapness, the mental dullness of the film capital, although he greatly admired the high technical standard.

Eisenstein had escaped from Hollywood to Mexico, and when he spoke about his Mexican film, "Thunder Over Mexico," he seemed a changed man. Mexico was the future — not America. "The Indio! His closeness to the earth! The human dignity of the peasant! That is reality, not technical progress. Not the machine. Life and death! Nowhere are they so close to each other."

"You are a romantic!" I said.

He laughed. "Am I? I spent many months in Mexico, I had a wonderful experience, I did exactly what I wanted to do, nobody gave me orders, nobody censored my work, and Hollywood paid for it. Show me anyone who could have handled Hollywood more unromantically!"

IN the winter of 1936 I was in Moscow. The Golden Age of Soviet art had come to an end, the honeymoon between the Russian intellectuals and the government was over. The "Old Bolsheviks" fought their last battle and lost. They had been "Westerners," poisoned by spiritual values which were no longer tolerated. Theater and film reflected this change. The great pioneers and masters of the arts, novelists and composers mounted the podium one after another in workers' meetings and confessed their sins against the "spirit of Bolshevism." They abjured their "decadent, formalistic" art and pledged themselves to strive for the new "social realism."

Pudovkin was spared. But he was a broken man. Highly sensitive, he suffered from self-doubts, uncertainty and fear. He started one film, had to abandon it when the story was not passed by the party, started another film, but got hopelessly entangled in a maze of moral and political issues. Nevertheless, he had been decorated by Stalin and this medal was to him more than a distinction. It was to him the only fixed star in his dark night.

Eisenstein had not received a medal. This in itself was an unmistakable censure in view of his fame and of his past work. He took it lightly. He did not confess. He did not abjure. For a long time he was not allowed to work at all and gave only lectures at the film university. In Moscow there was a whisper: in one of his lectures Eisenstein, analyzing the work of James Joyce, told his students, "You are not allowed to read him, but I have."

"He will get into real trouble!" a friend told me.

I next met Eisenstein at the Moscow film factory. He was in the midst of a new film to be called "Beschan Luk." It was based on a novel by Turgeniev, who described how the shepherds of Beschan Luk, a small Ukranian village, gathered around the fire in the evening and told stories of their lives. These talks, the descriptions of nature, Eisenstein contrasted with events of the film which happened in the same place.

The story which Eisenstein told was a true one; it had happened during the beginning of collectivisation. A *kulak,* a rich peasant, killed his son, a young godless Communist, who had denounced the father to the Soviet as a Churchgoer and profiteer. Eisenstein composed the film like a Biblical drama. For the first time he did not create the drama of a collective group, not an epic of masses, but the tragedy of a family. For the first time the individual — the father, the son — became Eisenstein's hero.

I saw the "rushes." It was Eisenstein's greatest work. The 12-year-old boy whom he had found somewhere in the streets of Moscow had incredible talent.

This was a new period in Eisenstein's art. And it was a new Eisenstein I met. His coldness had become cynical but one could sense that he was wearing a mask. He assured me that he was happy to be back in Russia, praised the artistic opportunities given him by the Government. Orders? Censorship? Ridiculous! He considered himself a free man.

The film was never shown in public. It was first shown to Stalin who banned it immediately.

I don't blame Stalin. The picture was the most tragic and horrifying indictment of man's inhumanity to man, a terrible example of political fanaticism which turns father and son into deadly enemies.

After this film Eisenstein's disgrace was complete. But not for long.

HE emerged from his enforced seclusion, recanted his sins and was allowed to make another picture. This time he made good. Or did he?

"Alexander Nevsky," then "Ivan The Terrible," made Eisenstein the propagandist of the new — and at the same time, the very old — Russian nationalism. There are unquestionably great scenes in those pictures. Who can ever forget the coronation scene in "Ivan," the battle on the ice in "Nevsky" — these are genuine Eisenstein trademarks. But as a whole these pictures are tragically disappointing. They often give the impression that Eisenstein wanted to develop his newly discovered nationalism to its utter barbaric climax. The splendor, the emotions are oriental; the message with its glorification of "blood and soil" has the ring of a Goebbels.

If Eisenstein wanted to prove that he was a true Russian after all, an anti-Westerner and a devoted disciple of the Stalin regime, he succeeded. In any case, he convinced Stalin, who bestowed high honors and decorated him.

He didn't convince me.

Once, speaking about the festival of death, which he had witnessed in Mexico, Eisenstein said to me:

"No death is accidental. No one dies if he has still something important to accomplish in his life. Physical death comes to an artist when his spiritual life, his creative power has run out."

Did Eisenstein feel that way when he laid himself down to die a few months ago? Or did he only smile sarcastically, realizing as he certainly must have that while he could drive an advantageous bargain with Hollywood all his realism and cynicism was not strong enough to get something for nothing out of Stalin.

He was a romantic, true, but first and foremost he was a great artist and as such, he paid a supreme price for his mistake: He died twice.

"POTEMKIN" (1924), the story of sailors' mutiny during the Russian Revolution, was Eisenstein's first great picture, established his reputation. In scene above, revolutionists' bodies roll down the steps.

"GENERAL LINE" (1929), which glorified the unpopular Soviet farm collectivization program was considered by Eisenstein his best picture. The long-pregnant peasant woman (above) is one of the characters.

In "TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD" (1928), based on the book by American John Reed, Eisenstein introduced techniques never seen before, including close-ups, angle shots, weird lighting effects.

"THUNDER OVER MEXICO" (1932) was the only picture Eisenstein ever made outside Russia. Fleeing to Mexico from Hollywood, which he hated, he spent two years filming tragedy of downtrodden *peons*.

"ALEXANDER NEVSKY" (1938), dealt with Russians' 13th century victory over invading Germans. Withdrawn after signing of Russo-German pact, it was re-released after the Germans attacked in 1941.

"IVAN THE TERRIBLE" (1945-46), part of which was banned, was powerful patriotic epic. Scene above combined in striking tableau stone arch, solitary human figure, and thousands of distant people.

Six Masterpieces By Eisenstein

The scenes shown above are from Eisenstein's six best films. A seventh, called "Beschan Luk," was suppressed by Stalin. himself. after it was made in 1936. For two years Russia's greatest director was in disgrace, forbidden even to enter a studio until he publicly recanted his "errors." Thereafter, he managed to hew strictly to the party line until "Ivan the Terrible," Part III was banned as "decadent," "bourgeois." He died soon after.

Now, Now, Voyager...

WHEN a man visits New Orleans, Paris or Milan, or spends a couple of weeks in Sweden or Canada, famous monuments or breathtaking landscapes make up only one part of his experience—and perhaps not the most important part. In trains and casinos, aboard ships and in hotels, the traveler meets hundreds of fellow tourists, whose congeniality, or lack of it, influences the success of his trip more fatally than any museum or sight.

And yet, the Baedekers never speak humans. There isn't a single guide book I've ever heard of which carries instructions on how to deal with those dark horses of one's summer trip: the travel companions. A conscientious Baedeker may print the date on which the mother-in-law of a long defunct Portuguese king had her favorite horse painted by an itinerant artist, but the same book will not whisper a word about the school teacher from Spokane who once drummed on my door in Switzerland at four in the morning and shouted: "Get up you lazy bones! The sun is coming up! I've read that this is the most glorious sunrise in Europe!"

For my own satisfaction and protection, I have been collecting data on fellow travelers for the past 25 years. I have come to the conclusion that they come in six different varieties. Each has its own particular obsession and slant of mind, destined to come into collision with your own sooner or later. There are of course slight individual variations, but for all practical purposes the passenger list of your ship or plane is bound to be a roster of these six basic types.

MY school teacher from Spokane was what I call a *Precious Traveler*. This amiable creature, steadfast as a camel, busy as a bee, prides himself in always doing the right thing. In Switzerland he is overwhelmed by sunrises. In Rome he strikes meditative poses among the ruin of the Forum. In Norway he takes countless pictures the fjords.

The Precious Traveler is the perfect conformist. Fo individual vagaries he has only contempt. If he goes t a night club in Paris it is not because he wishes to ge pleasantly drunk or to pick up a local girl, but becaus the *boites de nuit* are famous, and he mustn't miss them In general, missing the obvious is the great fear whic haunts his life. He breathlessly follows every word of th official guide on conducted tours, and after having "take in" Versailles, he crosses it out on his schedule; he ha done his duty by Louis XIV, and may now proceed to th next "must."

By my own estimate, the Precious Travelers form a co siderable portion of all tourists perhaps as much as 25 pe cent. I found that the best defense against them is a sho of utter cynicism. A sneer at the Mona Lisa, or a co temptuous shrug of the shoulder when he mentions th Sistine Chapel has the same effect on the Precious Tra eler as holy water on Satan.

A TOUGHER proposition is the *Insider*, the travele in-the-know, the keeper of all secrets.

My first encounter with this type occurred in Venic The man in question was my compatriot, an artist who lo no time in assuring me he knew every stone and eve pretty girl in the city. On learning that I had just arrive he grasped my arm and insisted on showing me aroun

Right at the outset we ran into three urchins, loud inveighing against each other. My friend leaned again the wall and shook with laughter.

"You wouldn't understand," he hissed, breathless. "Y have no idea how picturesque the Venetian lingo is

BY TIBOR KOEVES

The author of Timetable for Tramps forewarns you against six kinds of travelers you are likely to meet on your trips.

At dinner-time he took a long way around to a dirty ittle restaurant. "No foreigners come here," he observed. 'It's the best place in town. They're having *gnocchi* for linner tonight."

So saying he went out to the kitchen, ordered his food straight from the cook, and pinched the snub nose of the waitress. The *gnocchi* arrived hard and stale.

After dinner he deluged me with information. He knew ust where to buy cheap smuggled wine, who was involved n what scandals, and where to get bargains in jewelry. But when he launched into a lecture on Venetian history, ie got all of his dates wrong.

When we visited the thousand year old cathedral of Saint Mark, he took my hand and led me on tiptoe beneath he central cupola. "There!" he sighed, and his eyes were ecstatic, while his cheeks shone with a preternatural pride. Some demon possessed me as I saw him standing there irms akimbo, and I shook his hand ceremoniously.

"You're a great artist," I assured him. "This work of ours will live forever."

THE *Pilgrims* or *Expatriates* are a subdivision of the know-it-alls. There are thousands of Americans, Swedes, Englishmen and Hungarians living in France, Siam, Italy and the United States who are desperately ashamed of being aliens. Like the "insiders," they know everything and everybody, and outjingo the local chauvinists. They avoid their countrymen like poison, but look upon the corner street-cleaner as a demigod because he happens to be a native. They make intense efforts to be taken for natives themselves. The local citizen accepts hem, referring to them unfailingly as "crazy foreigners."

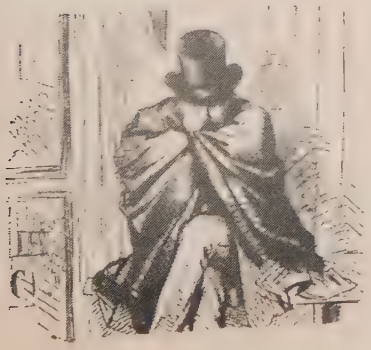
THE *Escapist* is one who has been hurt by his friends or has been a failure at home. Therefore he likes to dream abroad. He dreams of perfection. Stopping at the outskirts of a little Andalusian town at nightfall, he observes the flatroofed houses, perched against their purple shadows, and tells himself that here, at last, is architecture proportioned to mankind, with windows as felicitously placed as eyes on a human face, rooms that breathe, and half-open doors that smile. Night overtakes him and he leaves, satisfied that he knows what a house should be.

From time to time the escapist grows weary, and decides to settle down. He rents an apartment and acquires a dog. Yet things are always happening to him. His dog runs away, the apartment catches fire, and a woman he once complimented files a paternity suit against him. Once more he has been overtaken by his destiny which is to look for an impossible promised land. And so, one gray dawn the Escapist slips out and disappears without bidding anyone farewell. He resumes his eternal travels.

THE *Smart Traveler* is the one who always draws the best room in the hotel, rates a ringside table at night clubs, and gets an extra trip free of charge through the catacombs because he argues he couldn't see the first time in the dark.

The Smart Traveler reasons that since he paid cash for his railway ticket and has no intention of skipping the hotel bill, he should be entertained, honored, and otherwise get his full money's worth.

The Smart Traveler is convinced that the ruins on the Rhine and the pyramids of Egypt are rackets, and his chief reason for traveling is to show up hotel porters, museum curators and Neapolitan singers for the frauds they are. Convinced everyone is out to cheat him, he is determined to bargain prices down by at least 50 per cent. As a result, shopkeepers have learned to double prices on him so as



to get the price they actually want. His favorite phrase in any language is "Too much! It isn't worth it." Rank or fortune have nothing to do with the attitude of the Smart Traveler. There are advertising executives who pass their time on a gondola in Venice figuring out just how much American Express is making on the deal, just as there are university professors who start a scene if a sexton makes a *soldo* on souvenir postcards.

Smart Travelers are always peeking behind the scenes. By so doing they miss all the drama, but they flatter themselves they are not gullible. The Smart Traveler is wide awake, alert, and wise to the ways of the world. But travel would lose all savor if there were no unpleasant smiles, no dirt, no lies, because he thrives on them.

THE *Traveler-Who-Stays-At-Home* does just that, at least in his heart. When he sends back postcards reading "Wish you were here," he lies. He wishes *he* were *there*, that he had never left. For him there is no thrill greater than finding a compatriot among all the foreigners abroad. He spends most of his time searching for a familiar face. To stumble upon an acquaintance who knew Aunt Betty back home fills him with the same dazzling feeling of conquest experienced by the man who first climbed Mount Everest.

Travelers of this type mainly belong to the female species. Wise realists, they know that no amount of excitement in another country may stir a person as deeply as small routine events occurring in his own backyard.

If they dared be sincere, the Stay-At-Homes would confess that travel for them is a trial, for their attention is split between what they see and what they had left behind, a state of mind which causes dizziness. True to form, these are the travelers who suffer innumerable little ills during their trips, and are always provided with an arsenal of medicinal bottles and pills.

When they finally arrive back home, they gather their friends around them in the woman's club and declare that their trip has been "divine." They sincerely feel they are telling the truth and forget one circumstance—that the only enjoyment they got out of their voyage is to be able to tell their friends and bridge partners all about it.

IT happened on Mount St. Gellért, in Budapest. Th time was sunset, and several hundred visitors and n tives were staring intently at the most voluptuous view i Europe. Suddenly there was a loud report that shocke everyone into immobility.

A blonde young woman had slowly risen from a benc her features distorted by some superhuman effort. Sh raised her arms aloft, and stood an instant facing the su Then a dark spot began to spread symmetrically beneat her left breast, and she collapsed.

A few of us hurried over. We laid her on a bench. The was a neatly folded newspaper beside her. Across the fro page she had scribbled in German: "I don't ever want t leave here." By the time the ambulance arrived, she wa dead.

My curiosity aroused, I got the whole story at poli headquarters a few days later.

The blonde girl was twenty-five, daughter of a Koenig berg attorney. She had gone on a tour of Central Europ and was expected home the day she died.

According to the official report, the reason for her a was unknown. But I had no doubt. The dreamy Prussia maiden had found something in Budapest, where the su shone, cool waves played in marble pools and dinner wa served to gypsy music beneath flowering trees—somethin so potent that life without it became unthinkable. Eve Albrecht Duerer exclaimed during his first trip in Italy "How I shall shiver henceforth in the North!" The cr of the great artist must have echoed with intolerab anguish in the heart of the lonely girl.

I shall always regret not knowing her, and her inn world of intensity, poetry and desperate courage. I can se her now, drinking in the breath of the flowery slopes o Buda, and trembling at the caress of gentle breezes. Th tortured German soul of the girl must have scaled to un precedented heights when, after loving a city for ten day she made ready to stay there forever.

I shall always remember the blonde girl from Koenig berg as the most sensitive, the most human and cons quently the happiest and unhappiest of all voyagers: th *Passionate Traveler.*

The Battle Of Ideologies III:

There are five major political ideologies represented within the United Nations, each trying to make its dogma understood by the rest of the world. These ideologies are: 1) Communism; 2) Capitalist Democracy; 3) Socialism; 4) Absolute Monarchy; 5) Military, Personal and Fascist Dictatorships.

Cutting across the lines dividing these systems are a variety of political influences, religious currents, imperialist and anti-imperialist tendencies, conflicting nationalisms of many kinds.

In this series, UNW's editors present objective analyses of each system, without regard to the partisanship usually attending such discussions. First two articles of the series, "World Communism" and "Capitalist Democracy," appeared in the December and January issues.

World Socialism

BY THE EDITORS OF THE UNITED NATIONS WORLD

A FEW weeks ago the State Department submitted to Congress a document in which it appeared to es- ouse a "cause" it was least expected to advocate. In e language of popular political science, it described cialism as an "acceptable" ideology and economic sys- m — as long as it is confined to other countries. It vited American lawmakers to recognize it as "one of e major bulwarks against communism."

Although prompted by practical political considera- ons, the State Department document was still a matter some astonishment. In view of this country's long cord of opposition to it, its impact on its recipients as, of course, confusing. To many, if not to most, of em, socialism and communism represent identical prin- ples and techniques, Karl Marx hovering over the adle of both, nursing them into life to haunt a re- ectable family of nations.

It was, indeed, the widespread confusion about social- m, especially in its relation to communism, that moti- ted the State Department in its decision to prepare d release the document. In a sense it was the admin- istration's official answer to influential critics of its European Recovery Program. Harold E. Stassen and Joseph H. Ball, to name but two, were most vocal in opposing aid to countries with socialist regimes. The Department feared that such opposition may place the whole Program in jeopardy. Most of the countries participating in the Marshall Plan are either run by socialist regimes or sustain socialists in their coalition governments.

To many who clearly understood the implications of the Department's effort, this explanation of socialism in simple power-political terms appeared to be both too little and too late. Almost exactly a hundred years after its birth, socialism as a world ideology suddenly finds itself pushed to the precarious edge of the cliffs of history. Socialism is under concentrated attack from both the left and the right. Under pressure from both directions, it has come to occupy a place close to the center, pushing the center's perennial middle class occupants to the right. Thus, within a hundred years, socialism, losing its original and incipient militancy, became the ambiguous force of the middle mind, which, in the words of a

Socialism's Leaders:

well-known poet "merely purrs and never shows its teeth."

The showdown is coming at a time when socialism, despite its contemporary setbacks, still retains considerable strength in its appeal to the masses and in the principles which it proposes for the solution of current politico-economic problems. Socialism is particularly strong if it is viewed in its broad meaning from a democratic angle, and not in its much narrower sectarian interpretation. But the innate strength of socialism is frequently underestimated, even by its own adherents who have found that power has brought them nothing but misery. Its opponents, unduly impressed by its recurrent tactical failures, tend to overlook its strategic strength. It is evident that socialism has already lost most of its battles. It is on the verge of losing even more. But it still has a fighting chance to win its war.

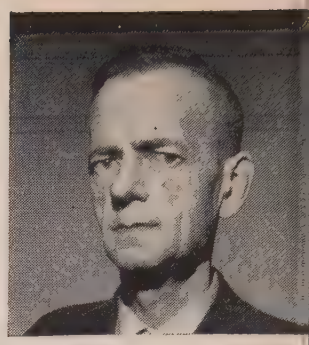
AT the present time, socialism is firmly established in the United Kingdom and in two members of the Commonwealth, Australia and New Zealand. If Nehru's personal political orientation is accepted as a criterion, the government of India also has strong socialist tendencies. Socialists rule either by themselves or in more or less precarious coalitions in virtually every country of Scandinavia and western Europe, except Spain and Portugal. They are the strongest political party in Japan and emerge as strong forces in all the genuinely liberated areas of Asia. Socialists dominate the governments of many Latin American republics.

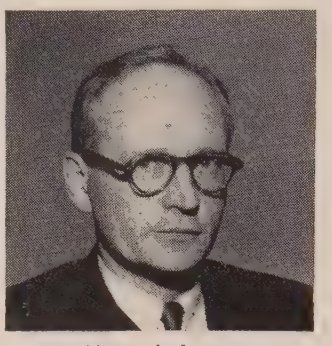
Virtually every one of the socialist groupings which go into the making of these regimes represent a different brand of socialism. The divergence is not confined to countries. It is frequently evident within regional socialist parties as well. In Italy, for example, socialists can be found both among the supporters and the opponents of the cabinet of Premier Alcide de Gasperi. In France, there is a ferment which eats away at the party as a unit. In Japan, a recent split within the party compelled the resignation of the country's first socialist Premier.

These factions and fractions of real or hyphenated socialists reflect socialism's oldest and greatest evil, the one single force that may eventually defeat it. Like Christianity, socialism branched out into innumerable sects of varying importance and influence. Marx's tenets represent no focal point in these deviations, as is popularly believed, but are actually deviations themselves. Socialism is much older than Marx. The Frenchmen Saint-Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, the British Robert Owen, the Fabians and the Guild Socialists either preceded Marx or had different ideas. Today many so-called socialists or social democrats openly reject the Marxist ideas of class struggle, of seizure of political power by violent means, and especially the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Some of them attempted a fusion between socialism and Christian belief and emerged as Christian Socialists, provoking the wrath of Marx who wrote: "The social principles of Christianity have now had eighteen hundred years for their development, and do not need any further development at the hands of Prussian consistorial councillors." He was referring to Hermann Wagener, an

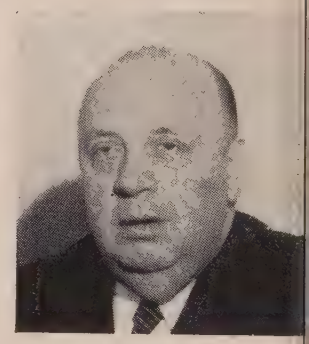
Britain's Attlee


Germany's Schumacher


Norway's Lange

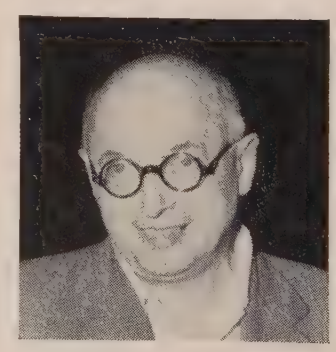
Belgium's Spaak

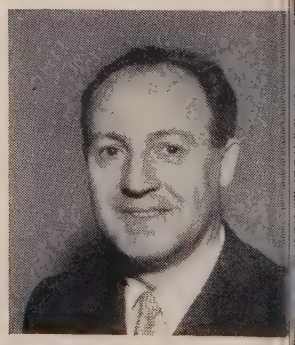
France's Blum


Spain's Prieto

Poland's Cyrankiewicz

Czechoslovakia's Lausman


Left-wing Italy's Nenni


Right-wing Italy's Saraga

assistant judge in one of Prussia's ecclesiastical courts, who was among the first advocates of a "hybrid doctrine halfway between State socialism and Christian socialism."

Another fusion attempted in political practice was that between nationalism and socialism. It appeared in its extreme in German Nazism; and in its moderate, bourgeois democratic form in the National Socialist Party of President Benes of Czechoslovakia. The British Labor Party rejects all totalitarian theories with which orthodox socialists continue to flirt, and believes in a "glorious revolution of the 20th century," representing gradual development towards socialist economy within political democracy which would safeguard the civil liberties of its citizens. The U. S. socialists, as well as the traditional socialist parties of France and Scandinavia, are pledged to a similar program of gradual evolution within the framework of political democracy.

IN today's struggle, the conflict appears to be most evident in the clash between the British and continental forms of socialism. This is by no means a new conflict. The difference between the two was best described by the visitor to London who said: "Continental socialists want the first class compartments on trains opened to the working classes. The British merely demand that the third class compartments be made more comfortable for them."

The word "socialist" was first used in a famous Manchester debate in the 1830's, by the Rev. J. H. Roebuck as an abusive nickname for his opponent, Robert Owen. It was used again in 1838 to describe the Frenchman, Pierre Leroux. It became a major political force ten years later, when Marx and Engels published their *Communist Manifesto,* in 1848.

WHAT then is socialism? Probably the best definition, and certainly the most useful for the purposes of an objective survey, was provided in full by James Bonar, in his book *Malthus and his Work.* "Socialism," he said, "is that policy or theory which aims at securing by the action of the central democratic authority a better distribution, and in due subordination thereunto a better production, of wealth than now prevails."

This definition may displease or disappoint many modern socialists. But Bonar clinched his argument when he wrote: "Just as chemistry is not alchemy, or astronomy astrology, modern socialism is not to be identified with Utopian fancies, and need not be so defined as to embrace them. . . . The socialists of the 20th century rarely, if ever, demand that all wealth be held *in common,* but only that the land, and the large workshops, and the materials and means of production on a large scale shall be owned *by the state,* or its delegate, the municipality."

THE history of socialism is full of seeming paradoxes and contradictions. Probably the most startling, and at the same time illuminating, was provided by Bismarck, the "Iron Chancellor" of Germany, who was accused of many things, but never of being a socialist. Bismark's policy was "to fight socialism with socialism," and he introduced a series of what he called "remedial measures," including social legislation loudly demanded by his socialist opponents. Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal" was an effort along identical economic lines, providing more sincere "remedial measures" of distinctly socialistic flavor, without Bismarck's archaic attempt to use them for political purposes.

The focal idea of socialism is beyond such apparent contradictions. It is to convert into general benefit what was formerly the gain of the few. Socialism is opposed to the policy of *laissez faire* insofar as its means little or no interference in private competition. It is suspicious of a policy of mere regulation which steers clear of assuming initiative in production.

From the point of view of the forthcoming struggle, political socialism deserves closer scrutiny, if only because it is in the political sphere that the practicioners of socialism reveal their weakness. At a time when socialism is exposed to violent attacks from both extremes as well as from the displaced center, it fails to reveal that militancy which appears necessary to stave off its doom. As a result, socialism surrenders to pseudo or quasi socialists, including anarchists, nationalists, collectivists, nihilists, bolshevists and communists to whom attainment of power is often more important than socialist principles.

In one generation, socialism missed two great opportunities, chiefly because it lacked understanding of the importance of political power. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, overimpressed by the consequences of his craft, socialists usually shy away from using their power the moment they attain it. The German socialists who suddenly found themselves in complete power after World War I, lacked the boldness to use it.

The socialists of Britain, now given another trial after two previous failures, don't quite know how to reconcile the contradiction between socialism and imperialism. The dilemma thus imposed upon them is not one of their own making. If the Attlee government were unencumbered by the dubious inheritance of a declining empire, world socialism could gather around the Labor Government as communists throughout the world now gather around the Soviet Government. But the encouragement and support which world socialism needs for its own good is not forthcoming from Britain. Although halfhearted attempts are being made by London to assume leadership of the socialist world, one step forward in this direction is usually followed by two steps backward under the burden of Britain's imperial commitments and bigpower obligations.

Recent attempts to regain the socialists' lost militancy petered out in long and ineffective debates during several European Socialist congresses held in Switzerland, Belgium and Britain. But those who profess concern for the future stability of the world and seem unafraid of social democracy, agree that socialism continues to represent at least a promise, as Hector McNeil, young Minister of State in Britain's labor government most eloquently stated:

"If we have not the power to coerce and to dominate which we had once and which we did not always use most wisely, then I insist that this country and above all this social democratic government have the ability to lead morally. We shall continue to exert it with such resources as we have in each corner of the world to which we can reach, believing that Europe at any rate looks for moral leadership from social democracy. Europe tied to and nurtured in this idea of consent knows no other workable political system than social democracy."

BY ANNE FREMANTLE

Socialism on the Playing Fields of

"THERE goes the stuff that won Waterloo," said the aged Duke of Wellington, as he drove past the Eton playing fields in his carriage, just a hundred years ago. He had himself played on those fields, as had many — indeed, most — of his officers. He kept perhaps the warmest corner of his hard old heart for that "best of schools."

Eton is, of all English institutions, the most serenely able to fit itself into any and every changing circumstance. On October 11th, 1940, Eton celebrated its fifth centenary amidst the blitz. For the "Glorious Fourth" of 1947 (June 4th, George III's birthday, is an Eton holiday) the English Sovereigns came to the College to join in the celebrations, as the Kings and Queens of England had come often down the centuries. They had not far to travel. From the terrace of their castle at Windsor they could almost throw pebbles into Eton College yard. Today, under a Labor Government Eton is, if anything, more flourishing than it was even in the reign of its saintly founder King Henry VI. In 1440 he founded "for twenty-five poor and indigent scholars who are to learn grammar. Our Royal College of Our Lady of Eton."

What are the secret fountains of Eton's perennial youth? Why is it still, in all the world, unique? Disapproved as an effete preparation for an obsolete way of life by some, extolled by others as the most continuously valid essay in the building of human character, and admitted by all to have an eduring influence, not only on its inmates, but on the whole life of the English nation, how has it safely weathered the storms of the ages?

Under the new Education Act of 1944, Eton is classed as an Independent School, together with all the other English public schools. As is well known, "Public School" in England means a private, non-profit-making, secondary school. In fact, exactly what a "Private School" means in America.

THE present constitution of Eton dates from its earliest times, and was confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1868. The Provost is assisted by a Vice-Provost and a governing body of Fellows, nominated by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It is they who appoint the Headmaster and the seventy assistant masters.

By the 1944 Education Act, all Independent schools were bidden offer themselves for registration, and were to be placed under a Registrar, appointed by the Board of Education. But there was a proviso that "if the Minister of Education is satisfied . . . that registration is unnecessary, such school or schools may be exempted from registration and may be deemed to be a registered school." The Minister considered himself satisfied, in the case of Eton, and thus it has evaded registration, which would have entailed inspection. It is unlikely that the 500-year-old school would have exactly enjoyed Government officials measuring the height of the fifteenth century classrooms.

Eton is, and always has been, fi nancially independent through en dowments, foundations and fees. Tha is one of the sources of its strength After World War I, many of th other public schools fell upon ev days, and had to apply to the loca education authorities for grants, an so came under inspection of th Board of Education.

Eton avoided this. But, in the fa of 1947, for the first time in history two elementary school boys (boy from Dorsetshire, their fees bein paid by the local authorities. A thir boy, from Hartfordshire, has bee tentatively accepted for 1948. Othe English public schools have been tal ing such students for some time, an it is expected that soon the numbe of such boys, supported by publi funds, will run into thousands. A ready an impecunious peer, with son at Eton, has applied to his loca education authorities for the £2 ($80)-a-year grant available to an parent whose boy has qualified sch lastically for secondary educatio and whose parent's income is belo a certain level! So far, 103 Publi Schools have made 358 places avai able, and 10 local authorities hav taken advantage of these.

In accepting the two Dorset boy the Headmaster of Eton pointed ou that "whilst the acceptance of th council boys is an experiment, it one that has been urged by the Pul lic Schools for a long time. As fa back as 1919 a deputation of Pul lic School masters suggested th step."

Eton

AT present the position of Eton with regard to the new Education Act is that any County Council may request a place for any boy for whom it is willing to pay. Also, of course, any boy from anywhere, from any background, from any country, may compete for one of the twelve Royal foundation scholarships, awarded annually. For though today Eton, with its 1150 boys, is very different from what it was in 1467, yet the boys are now, as then, divided into Scholars and Oppidans. The twenty-five Scholars have become seventy, but they still are nicknamed "tugs," either from "*togati*" (gowned) from their distinctive dress, or from "tugmeat," mutton, which then (but alas, not today) was their almost exclusive fare. My husband members digging his fork into the table once for every time mutton was served in a week, and finding fourteen times its four-pronged imprint.

The Oppidans, from the first, were boys of good family, whose parents were anxious for them to get as good an education as the scholars, and were prepared to pay for the privilege. Such boys lived in the "*Oppidum*" or town of Eton, lodging in Boarding houses, whose "Dames" became so permanent a feature that College took over their "houses," replacing the "Dames" by "Housemasters." This is thought to be the origin of the "house" or boarding system now generally prevalent everywhere.

A tremendous amount is required of a Scholar. The candidate, over twelve and under fourteen, must be able to construe Greek, write Latin verses, parse, translate French unseen, and cope with algebra, geometry, history, science and English better than hundreds of his equally carefully coached rivals. For this is a most competitive exam, and all the "prep" schools in England trot out their likeliest candidates.

Scholars today have a very much pleasanter time than in the sixteenth century when trapping rats, roasting

Eton is an ancestral stronghold of cricket.

stolen ducks, and smuggling spirits from the local pub into Long Chamber (into which all seventy boys were herded) were commonplace after-dark activities. Boys rose at 5, and Friday was flogging day. Small wonder one 16th Century victim cried:

From Pauls I went
To Eton sent
To learn straightways the Latin phrase
Where fifty-three stripes given to me
At once I had

It was not until 1840 that Hodgson, on being appointed Provost, vowed "Please God I will do something for those poor boys," and did.

PERHAPS there are two chief reasons for Eton's greatness. The first is a room of one's own. Every Oppidan, unless one of a pair of brothers, has a room of his own from the day he arrives. True, the "room" is hardly bigger than a fair-sized closet, and the folding bed, hoisted by day against the wall, by night fills almost all the space. But even such a cubbyhole provides peace and privacy, and actually prevents the rough-housing that a dormitory invites. Beside his bed, every Etonian has his "burry," — a bureau whose top is a bookcase, bottom a chest-of-drawers, and middle a desk, which serves a number of uses "from a hiding place for cribs, to a stable for illicit dormice." Etonians also make their own tea every afternoon, to which they may invite parents or visitors.

The second memorable feature of Eton, is that the government is largely in the hands of the boys who choose their governors themselves. "Pop," — the Eton Society, to be a member of which bestows such power and glory that nothing, not the Viceroyalty of India in its hey-day, not the Premiership itself, can quite equal — has no official standing. Yet it is the members of "Pop" who keep order in the whole school, and never has their authority been questioned. Their rules are their own, and they rule with a rod of iron.

As "Pop" rules the whole school, so "The Library" consisting of four or five of the senior boys, rules each individual house. The Library, like "Pop" elect themselves, and one blackball excludes. The whole principle of the government of Eton is one of privileges based upon, and graduating with, responsibility. Lower than the Library are the other members of Upper School, all of whom, after one year, have the right to "flag" Lower boys (all boys, of whatever age, under Form V) to take messages. But it is only senior boys who may summon, with deep baying cry of "Boy!" any Lower boy to run errands, tidy their rooms, or make toast for their tea.

From his first day, the smallest, scruffiest 12-year old is addressed as "Esquire" on his letters and has liberties no less than duties. True, no boy may keep a wife, a beard, or a badger, but with certain limits he has a pretty free run. He may shop, walk (though not bicycle) where he will (except in the side streets of Windsor), order what food, clothes and books he wishes, and for his bills he is responsible to his parents not to the school. Chapel is compulsory, but only for members of the Established Church, and, by and large, one's leisure is one's own. Mr. Luttrell of Dunster, now over ninety, kept squirrel in his tail pocket for all five years (not the same squirre and Bernard Fergusson write "pro ably there is no society in the wor where it is so easy to find a niche Certainly, the variety of Etonians remarkable. Those who care f music are adepts at avoiding game and many painters have taken the first lessons in the adirable Eton a school. At this moment a brillia young potter, all of fifteen, has pe fected himself to the extent of ha ing one-man shows!

Poets, of course, have always bee two-a-penny, from Edmund Waller the sixteenth century, to Shelley, wl suffered his schooldays hardly, ar Swinburne, who had himself a beau ful time. Thomas Gray, whose "O on the Distant Prospect of Eton Co lege" bound together with his mo famous "Elegy" is the Headmaster leaving present to each boy, ar William Cory, who wrote the wor of the Eton Boating Song, are tw especially Etonian poets. Great pros writers abound, from Charles Jam Fox, who defended the America Revolutionists with his pen, ar Fielding, of *Tom Jones* fame, to Dav Cecil and Edward Sackville-West today. Yet it is statesmen who are tl *specialité de la maison:* Sir Robe Walpole, Chatham, Fox, North, Gre Gladstone, Salisbury and Balfou Prime Ministers all, and 90% of tl Viceroy's of India. Today a good sprinkling of Labor members of bo Houses of Parliament are Etonian as well as two Ministers in the socia ist cabinet: Lord Listowel and Jol Strachey. So was the former Cha cellor, Hugh Dalton.

Although it is Eton, most empha ically, that is the community, and n the house, yet the housemaster vastly important also in each Et nian's life. No Eton master has house for more than sixteen year each gets one in strict senority. The are 28 houses. Since there are, roug ly, but four generations of boys each housemaster's reign, what mak a "good" house? Perhaps doing we in the House (football) Cup: pe haps having several members "Pop," but mostly, a recent Etonia suggests, "having a good library an letting them have their heads."

Today's severe rationing puts tremendous strain on the "Dames (matrons). Catering with 2 ounc

ollegers and Oppidans watch Eton's traditional, muddy Wall Game (above) while exhausted players take a breather (below).

f butter, 2 ounces of cheese, 25 ents worth of meat, 2 pounds of po-itoes and one egg per boy per week quite a problem. Yet, with but 20 oupons a year, of which one suit akes 18, perhaps clothes are the reatest headache. Etonians still wear e traditional "tails," with a waist-oat (colored only if in "Pop"). hey must have, besides, a "change-oat" and grey slacks for indoors, hite flannel games shirts, two extra its, a black overcoat, 2 pairs of lack shoes, white wool sweater, ames togs, etc. The answer, of ourse, is "trading" and I suspect the ils I bought for my son to have een not second, but sixth-hand.

It cost, Eton compares very favor-bly with other schools of the same ind, and considerably less than any merican private school I have come cross.

AFTER World War I, some Bel-gian boys visited Eton, and ere astonished at the absence of a ecial chair for their Prince, who had to sit on a bench like everyone else. Nor is it only Belgian princes who are so democratically treated. My brother had one of King George V's sons as his "fag." A great-nephew of Queen Victoria, desiring leave of absence to attend her funeral, was asked by the Headmaster, forgetful of the royal connection "could you not make it a *nearer* relative?"

Samuel Pepys, recording in his Diary a happy day spent at Eton, comments on "the pretty custom of boys cutting their names in the shuts of the windows." This custom still prevails, some names now being those of the twelfth generation of Etonians. "Thence to the Porters," Pepys went on, "did drink the college beer, which is very good, and went into the back fields to see the scholars play." The free beer is, alas, no more, though my father-in-law still remembers it. But the "back fields" are another example of Eton's adaptibility.

The Wall Game, climaxed by the Collegers vs. Oppidans muddy match on St. Andrew's Day, is the traditional game. But the field-game, like the Wall game, an Etonian variant of football and rugger, is also played. Cricket holds the spotlight on the "fourth," followed by the procession of boats and fireworks. There is also a two-day match on Lord's Cricket Ground in London against Harrow. During the war, Eton's playing fields became part of the "Grow More Food" campaign and digging was part of every Etonian's daily chores.

Nothing has been said of the beauty of Eton's architecture — probably, in spite of being sadly bombed, the most perfect example in the world of domestic Perpendicular; nor of the wonderful collecting of Romneys, Gainsboroughs and other paintings in the Provost's lodging; nor of the natural beauties of gardens, water-meadows, parks, and river. These are obviously both enduring and civilizing "whatever kings may be," and every Englishman, whatever his politics wishes Eton all the best for its next five hundred years: *Floreat Etona.*

by Krishna Nehru

And the Earth Mourns

The moving story of the death of Gandhi—beloved "bapu" (father) of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world,—written by the sister of India's Prime Minister.

IT was the 29th of January, sunny and cold as only a winter's day in northern India can be, when we walked into Birla House to see Bapu. It was one of those rare occasions when Bapu was quite alone and we found him in the garden with an Assamese hat on his head, eating his mid-day meal of salad, — carrots, radishes and lettuce.

As we four women approached, he looked up and smiled, saying, "I have a harem visiting me. Come and sit down wherever you like." We sat around him and he asked each one of us questions about our family and how they were. It was very peaceful and quiet and the only thing that broke the silence was Bapu's low voice. He seemed in a happy talkative mood and it warmed our hearts to see him thus. Each one of us talked to him in turn. One of us commented on his straw hat and asked if it was Burmese. "Oh no," he said, "this is what I wore on my tour in Noakhali — the beautiful Burmese hat still hasn't arrived. I shall look quite smart in it I am sure." We laughed and said he would. Then he pulled out his watch and said, "You must go now for I have some people waiting to see me. I've given you more time than you deserve."

"When shall we see you alone again, Bapu?" I asked. "We do not like coming when others are here."

"You can't always see me alone," he said. "Next time you will have to see me in a crowd. Now run away." We left bidding him good-bye, little knowing it was a last long farewell and that we would see him next in a crowd. We came away feeling reassured, for he looked well and very cheerful.

January 30th dawned like any other day and we went about our tasks with no qualms for the future. Jawaharlal, who had been to Amritsar, returned at 2 p.m. and we had lunch. After that he went off to his office. Later in the afternoon Padmaja Naidu and I went to Old Delhi to visit some friends and were there till 6 p.m. oblivious of what had happened elsewhere.

Suddenly at 6:15 the door burst open and an Englishwoman came into the room trembling.

"What is it?" we asked.

"The radio," she stammered, "it just announced that Mr. Gandhi had been shot."

"Oh, no," I said, trembling all over, "it can't be true."

"It is so, I'm afraid," came the reply.

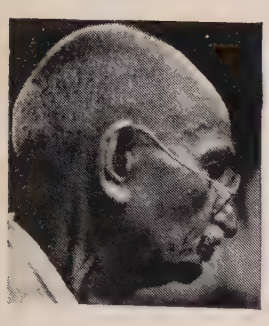
We rushed out to the car without even saying good-bye to the friend whom we were visiting. We drove like mad to 17 York Road but on reaching it we found it deserted. Only Mathai, Jawaharlal's secretary, was waiting for us. He jumped into the car and told the driver to drive to Birla House.

"How is Bapu?" I asked him.

"He is dead," said Mathai.

I broke down but still could not believe the ghastly truth. Near Birla House crowds had already collected and we had to push our way through with much difficulty. We rushed inside the house and suddenly the horror of it struck us all acutely. The passages were full of men and women sobbing or trying vainly to smother their sobs. We were escorted to Bapu's room, and entered with reluctant steps. He lay on his mat with his faithful disciples around him. He looked as though he were asleep. His body was still warm, his face still had the glow of life, though life itself was extinct. There was peace and forgiveness on his much loved face, and at the same time he seemed to convey a message of faith and determination in the future of our country. He seemed to beckon us to still greater effort — to better life.

We joined the little group of mourners and sat mutely trying in vain to control the sobs that shook our body. We just sat, forgetful of all else except that suddenly something precious had been snatched away from us, and that the earth which had looked so fair but a few hours ago was now enveloped in darkness and gloom and a terrifying sense of loneliness. In a corner of the room lay the Burmese hat which came too late.



AS we sat a murmur went through the crowd, "Jawaharlal!" He was in his office when the terrible news reached him. During almost every crisis in Bapu's life, his beloved Jawaharlal had been close at hand. Only this time Jawaharlal was not there. He entered the room, his face drawn and haggard, anguish written all over it. He hesitated at the threshold, unable to believe that his loved Bapu — the man to whom he had dedicated his life — lay before him killed by an assassin's hand. Gentle hands pushed him forward and he knelt beside the beloved master while all of us held our breaths. His face was like a carved piece of marble as he gazed down at Bapu, but his iron self-control could not stand the shock and the heartbreak. Hiding his face in his hands, he sobbed like a little child bereft of all that was most dear and precious. Not an eye was dry, not a heart whose sympathy did not go out to Jawaharlal, Bapu's chosen heir and his most loved disciple. But only for a few moments did Jawaharlal give in to despair. Wiping his eyes he rose and went out of the room, sorrow all over his face.

And so that night passed in anguish and tears — not for a few chosen ones, but for the millions in India for whom Bapu had lived and died.

Early the next morning while Bapu lay covered with flowers, still looking lifelike and very peaceful, thousands of people lined up to pay their last respects. One by one they filed past, some doing *namaskar* (hands placed together in an attitude of prayer), others bowing low and touching the ground with their foreheads. Many English women and girls and men came and gazed upon Bapu for the last time with tears in their eyes. Hardened soldiers came and saluted the little man in whom they believed. Simple folk from far and wide came to pay their homage. Then came all the foreign diplomats and their wives and staff. In contrast to the simple crowd they came dressed in full court mourning to do honor to him whom they admired, revered and had learned to love.

DRAPED in the national flag, Bapu's frail body was placed on a trailer which was pulled by men of the army, navy and air force. The little man who had been the simplest of all men was given a state funeral such as no king or commoner had ever had in history. Ten *lakhs* of people (one million) paid their last homage to him who had truly been a father to them all. Men and women of all communities thronged the six-mile route and not an eye was dry, not a heart that was not torn with anguish. Every now and then the surging crowd would break through the cordon in a desperate desire to see the face of their loved Bapu for the last time.

At 4:55 p.m. the sandalwood pyre was lit and soon the flames rose all round the body of the Bapu we had loved and cherished all our lives. Those around the pyre could not bear to see him thus and bent their heads in a vain effort not to see the greedy flames leaping all around. But the breeze fanned the flames, which rose higher and yet higher and made each one heart-breakingly aware of the fact that Bapu was no more.

BAPU is dead, but in the sorrow-stricken hearts of India's millions his memory will remain ever green. Generations to come will hang their heads in shame that one of their own brethren should have raised his hand fatally against the greatest son mother earth had ever produced. Not only 400 millions mourn his loss, but the entire earth weeps.

We shall never see Bapu smile again, never feel his gentle slap which was so typical a gesture of his affection. In our midst there will always be a void that even time will never be able to fill. But if we remain true to his teachings and his ideals, the darkness that surrounds us today may give way to light and India may emerge triumphant through her sorrows and her shame to be the brightest star in the firmament where Bapu's supreme sacrifice has placed her.

Four Tales of Japan

It took Captain Brown a long time to learn that democracy cannot be imposed on people unprepared for it.

BY SCOTT GILBERT
Former U. S. Marine Captain in Occupied Japan

CAPTAIN Brown glanced from one to the other of the brown, narrow-eyed faces of the city council facing him around the oblong table. The mayor was smiling. Apparently the council had reached a decision. The interpreter nodded, half-bowing from his chair.

"Yessir, Captain Brown, all understand. All O.K. Will get pipe for water right away."

The American nodded. "All right. How about the fittings and the boiler. It gets cold in Japan in the winter."

The captain knew this would start another lengthy discussion. He waited to be sure the interpreter had understood correctly and to parrot back to him what he had said.

"Yessir, yessir, pipe fittings and boiler. Fittings for pipe, boiler to heat with."

"That's right," said the captain.

You had to be sure. Take the barracks situation. Roofing tacks had turned up as thumb tacks. Tar was the British word for asphalt. The request for carpenters had been supplied literally,—the men had reported without tools.

The interpreter put the question and the discussion began, the little men hissing and sucking their breath between their teeth while they talked.

The discussion ended as abruptly as it began. "Yessir, yessir," said the interpreter, "fittings for pipe will be found. But very difficult to get now. No pipe for stores to sell. City has nothing, all went to army and navy."

Captain Brown nodded. Everything had gone to the Jap military forces. "Well, get them as fast as you can. Give me a piece of paper and I'll draw a diagram of what I need and you see what you can scrape together."

At the translation the bland faces clouded. One of the members bowed from his chair. "Oh, so," he lisped in English. "Paper. No paper, I think."

The captain had forgotten that paper was a scarce item. He started to reach for the notebook in his blouse pocket when one of the faces brightened and the owner of it bounced to his feet. "Oh, so, Captain Brown. We have some paintings. Can draw on back of."

Captain Brown left the notebook where it was. He did not like to draw on the backs of those delicate, deftl beautiful Japanese watercolors. Yet he said no he might offend them. H nodded.

IN a few minutes, the man returne holding aloft a sheaf of paper. H glee was so childish that the captai felt embarrassed. He took the pape and began to draw self-consciousl while the council pretended not t watch him. When he had finished, th diagrams he handed the paper to th mayor.

The little grey-haired man blinke myopically behind thick lenses. Th council, silent and formal before, no clamored, chattered and giggled, lean ing forward to catch a glimpse of th drawing the soldier had made, thei dignity forgotten, a group of wizene school-boys.

Captain Brown thought of the othe items in the memo in his pocket—win dow glass, plumbers, open the tea house as a recreation center for Amer ican troops, beer. He hadn't the hear to press these demands today; ever concession the council made meant a real sacrifice. Tomorrow would do fo

John Wedda

rest. They would have to wait.
ıddenly the interpreter turned,
ding. "Oh, very fine drawing. Will
luce very quick please."
Fine, fine." Captain Brown stood
Today he hardly waited for the
ıal bowing, merely nodding in re-
to the politely hissed words of
ing.
he waiting jeep outside was sur-
ıded by the usual swarm of chil-
, the boys eager and boisterous,
little girls, picture-book bobbed,
ding on the outer fringes. Pas-
i, the driver, was teasing one of
boys.
ıe captain swung into the jeep.
Camp, please."
ıe jeep started, the children scat-
g.
Pascucci," the captain said, "what
ou make of these people?"
ıe driver's eyes narrowed specu-
ely. Some officers wanted you to
these people down and give them
"Well they seem all right to me,
kids and all," he offered tenta-
y.
ıe captain nodded. "So that even
u fought them you find you still
can't hate them. You get to feeling they're people just like you."

"Yes sir, that's right."

Pascucci felt safer now that he knew how his passenger felt. "They seem just about like anyone else—do the same things."

"Yes, that's right."

The jeep bumped on toward camp.

• •

"WILL I ever be glad to leave this place!"

Captain Brown looked at the lieutenant standing beside him then followed the junior officer's glance around the wreck of the city. The captain knew how he felt, the desire to escape to something clean, whole and hopeful. "Yeah, Nagasaki's not exactly a boom town since the A-Bomb hit it."

The lieutenant fished a cigarette from his jacket. "Look at that woman stopped over there. Bringing her stuff back to the city. As if we didn't have more people already than we can take care of. What's she think she's coming back to?"

It was a familiar sight — a two-wheeled cart piled high with personal belongings and a woman with the inevitable baby on her back. Clinging to the woman's baggy trousers were two youngsters of five or six, a boy and a girl. The fifth member of the group, a girl in her teens, was standing between the shafts. Girl and woman were looking around bewildered.

The Captain turned to the lieutenant. "Ask her where she's going."

The lieutenant shrugged. "Don't speak it well enough, Captain. I'll get an interpreter."

In a moment he was back with a small eager Japanese.

The interpreter listened intently, showing no surprise at the question. He smiled blandly and put the query.

("She says going nowhere. She live here."

"Ask her why she has all her belongings packed up if she's not going anywhere."

"She has nowhere to put them."

"But she said she lives here. If she lives here, where is her house?"

Smile. Hiss. Question. Smile, hiss. Sudden smile of success.

"No house." The interpreter was beaming with accomplishment. "Big

JAPAN *(continued)*

bomb from atom tore house all apart. People in other houses burn boards to keep warm."

The smiling announcement of this personal disaster irritated the captain. He thought of the daily scene at the docks, the bustling hordes of women feverishly gleaning bits of refuse from the garbage racks, the crowd of women with their little brooms, industriously, ceaselessly searching the dust where the soya dump had been in the hope of finding a few stray beans. "Doesn't she know she won't be able to find employment here? What will she do?"

A look of dismay rippled across the brown face. He translated quickly. "Is at place where house was so nowhere to go. Will sit here on ground. Maybe dig hole to live in."

CAPTAIN Brown looked around. An empty lot was close by, barren except for little piles of trash and odd junk which had collected on its edges. He pointed to it incredulously.

The interpreter hissed and spread his hands deprecatingly. "Yes." He looked at the woman, smiled indulgently, then shrugged with a "what-better - can - you - expect - of - this - poor-ignorant-woman" expression.

The captain nodded. "Ask her about the food. Obviously she has no husband. Who's going to take care of her, the government?"

The interpreter's eager-to-be-of-service smile altered imperceptibly. The reply was curt. "She says she knows no food."

The captain's irritation increased. "But who's going to take care of her?"

The narrow eyes were evasive.

"Who?"

"I don't know."

The captain persisted despite the mounting tension. "The city authorities?"

The interpreter shuffled his feet, glancing at the woman, but not translating the question.

The lieutenant's look of warning caused the captain to shift his ground. "Tell her we would help her if we could, but we have no extra food. Ask her why she came back when she knows there is no food."

While the questions and answers were being made, the captain looked at the pinched face of the girl between the shafts, then the two tots, the boy stoic, the girl shy, bright-eyed, blue-veined and goose-pimpled. He could almost feel the cold sifting through the thin cotton clothing.

The interpreter turned. "No place to go. Only place here. Only place ever lived so come back."

The answer had been uttered with an air of finality. The questions were over. There was nothing more to ask. The woman's instinct, blind, groping, illogical, intuitive, was to return to the only place which was familiar to her.

The captain saw the interpreter's questioning glance. "O.K. Thanks." He nodded a dismissal.

"What made him sore?" he asked the lieutenant when the Japanese had gone.

The lieutenant paused for a moment to phrase his answer. "Well, there's a question of face. I think he thought you were running the government down for not taking care of the people. The government is a sacred thing, you know. Straight from the emperor. Any criticism of the government is a criticism of the emperor."

"I see."

The captain looked at the lieutenant but the younger man averted his eyes.

• • •

"DO you think your people understand democracy?"

A second passed. Two. The captain realized that he had caught the Military Government's Japanese Secretary by surprise. Such a frank, direct question could be considered impolite and might be interpreted as an attempt to catch one off guard and make one lose face.

Suddenly the Secretary's lips parted in a learned-from-childhood smile. "Oh so, sir. We very ignorant people. We follow your so gracious example and then we sure to make no mistakes."

Captain Brown was not pleased. It was the easy way, the diplomatic way, the "correct" way to answer. "If you want to be good democrats you have to think for yourselves, Nagami. You know—like they've been telling you in the newspapers."

Hiss; suck in of breath. "Oh yes. Read papers. We be good democracyers very quick." The myopic eyes blinked and the smile flashed automatically. "Democracy is new Japan. We read papers, not believe in emperor now."

Captain Brown glanced out of the window and back at the bespectacled little man. The man's answer had been given easily—too easily. It was an obvious attempt to guess what the captain wanted him to say.

"Listen, Nagami, in America we all say what we think. What do you *personally* think of democracy in Japan."

The polite smile flickered over the tight-lipped mouth. But there was a trace of perspiration on the brown forehead. He could almost see the man's mind. He was desperately seeking a cue to the kind of answer the captain obviously wanted.

"Come on, Nagami, *think!*"

The brown face was immobile. Nagami fervently wished he were somewhere else, and Captain Brown knew it quite well.

'Oh so. Americans all smart. Japse very ignorant. Americans run ban. Then we be good democracy."

'Damn! I've lost him for good," captain thought.

Aloud he said, "No, that isn't decracy. When each Japanese thinks himself and votes for what he nks, that's democracy . . . Do you derstand, Nagami?"

The Japanese half-bowed. "Oh yes . Me see."

Captain Brown looked out the winw. "Like hell you do!" he thought.

• • • •

WHAT'S the dope on discipline for today, top?"

First Sgt. Boniface picked up the pewritten sheet of offenses from the evious night and laid it on the capin's desk. "Looks like a repeat Mr. own, except for the rape."

The list gave little indication of the ture of the offenses, except that ere was no rape or attempted rape, ank God.

"You interview them all, top?"

"Yes, sir."

"What about hitting this Japanese pliceman?"

"About the same as it was with mith yesterday and the other case. his cop was hitting a woman so the arine smacked him."

"I see. Details?"

"This cop apparently ordered these omen away from a truck they were owding around but one of the woen didn't hurry fast enough so he hacked her with his saber-case sevral times. So then he makes her kiss is boots. So then this Corporal Tabor ecks him, for hitting a woman."

The captain waited but there was o more. "Well," he said, "with Smith esterday it was a civilian who was eating his mother or sister or someing. But a policeman! That's differnt. No matter how we feel about these eople hitting women we can't go round knocking down policemen."

First Sgt. Boniface cleared his roat. "No sir. But Tabor said he exlained it to both of them. Told them at what a cop was for was to protect eople, not to kick them around."

Captain Brown could think of no dequate reply.

"How about McQuillen here?"

"He's the one the M.P's picked up or that black market deal."

"What's his story?'

"Says he was just getting rid of ome scraps. But the M.P. lieutenant says he had two whole pies, a joint of beef, two cans of coffee and I don't know what all."

"I see. Trying to make an honest buck. Save him for a court-martial."

"What about these two Japanese?"

"The M.P.'s picked them up in our area for us to interview and either release or turn over to Military Government."

Captain Brown speculated. "Might as well see them first, eh?"

"All right sir. I'll get the interpreter."

One of the Japanese was tall, angular, and grey-haired. The other was short, young, and powerfully built. Both bowed nervously.

"T. Yamamoto?"

The young Jap hissed.

"Refused to sell his rice stock," the captain read from the M.P.'s report. "Has been buying up rice in black market violation of government orders." He turned to the interpreter.

"Ask him why he has been buying up rice around here."

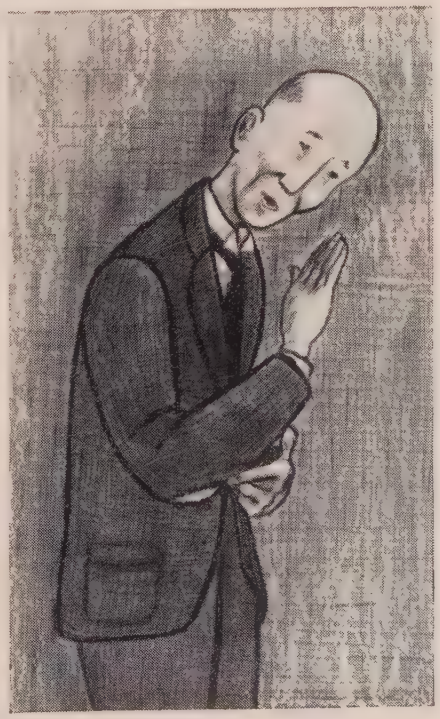
The question and answer shuttle began.

"To make saké," said the interpreter. "Big money to sell saké. He say if people sell rice he has right to buy."

Captain Brown scowled. "He has no right to buy rice to make saké when the people are starving."

"Yes sir. Sells to Americans too. Much profit."

"I see," Captain Brown recognized the pattern.



SUDDENLY the squat Japanese spoke rapidly. The interpreter's eyebrows registered surprise. "He says that one of his best customers is a Marine colonel. He says the colonel will protect him."

A flush mounted from the captain's collar. He glowered at the Japanese. "No city-slicker is going to threaten to put pressure on me! Tell him he's under formal arrest awaiting disposition by Military Government and the Japanese civil authorities. And while you're at it tell him it's his own people that he's starving and if I had my way about it I'd make an example of him right now."

The little interpreter jumped and squirmed unhappily. "Yes sir! Captain Brown, yes sir!"

The captain waved the squat Nipponese out of the room and sat smouldering. He glared at the tall, moonfaced man who bowed deeply.

"Apprehended attempting to purchase clothes the property of the United States Government," Captain Brown read from the report, "and to bribe members of the naval service. Speaks English well."

"You tried to buy government-issue clothing?"

The heavy-lidded eyes blinked. "Yes sir. I have much money. Will pay good price."

The man held up his arm and showed the tattered left sleeve of his jacket. "You see. Worn out. I am a very rich man, used to good things. I tried to buy at the Red Cross distribution center but they would not sell. But I am wealthy. I pay highest prices."

Captain Brown exploded. "Well I'll be damned!" he said. Because he was rich this man actually believed that he would get special consideration. "Sit down," he said.

The man eased onto the chair's edge.

"Listen," he began, "you've got to learn that other people have just as many rights as you do." He groped for the right words. "You think you deserve more than other people because they are not as smart as you are in making money. Listen, if they aren't as smart as you that means they need twice as much help because they have a harder time getting along . . ."

He noticed the man's blank eyes and stopped abruptly.

"Take him away," he said wearily. "How," thought the captain to himself, "can you replace a way of life a thousand years old by a speech?"

ROBERT STRAUSZ HUPÉ
Professor of Political Science, Wharton School,
University of Pennsylvania

Wanted: SEVEN MILLION HUSBANDS

THERE are today in Germany seven million women who will never have husbands. One out of every three German women of child-bearing age is doomed either to spinsterhood or to a sharing of the available males at variance with world's monogamous conventions. The situation is not due to any over-all shortage of population. In fact, the German lands have never before in their history been so crowded with people.

Germany set forth to conquer the world in 1939 with a cry for *lebensraum* — living space — which she proposed to take away from her neighbors. Yet pre-war Germany was *not* an over-populated country by any ordinary standards.

The German population, far from growing as lustily as Nazi propaganda fancied, actually showed signs of impending decline — as did, incidentally, every predominantly urban-industrial nation of Europe. Germany was able to maintain a national standard of living far superior to that of the rest of mankind except for a few countries of Western Europe and the United States. In 1936 there lived upon an area of 181,000 square miles, less than 68 million Germans in considerable, if not appreciated, comfort.

As a result of the war, the territory of Germany, as delineated by the Potsdam Agreement of 1945 is 138,000 square miles, or one-fourth smaller than the pre-war Reich. On this shrunken territory live 66 million men, women and children. Repatriation of prisoners of war and expulsion of the remaing German minorities from neighboring countries is expected to increase population in Germany proper to over 70 million within the near future. Due to this crowding, the German national standard of living in cities has sunk to the level of Asia. There is, for the first time in Germany history, a real — not a propaganda-manufactured — doubt as to the ability of the German economy to feed, clothe and shelter her population.

IN the last century, Germany has always had a preponderance of women over men. In 1936, for instance, there were within the borders of the pre-war Reich 34.8 million women as compared to 32.8 million men, or an excess of two million women. Within the borders of Potsdam Germany today, there are 36.6 million women and 29.3 million men, or a surplus of more than seven million women. The cost to Germany of her second attempt at world domination was at least 3.3 million lives, according to best Allied estimates. The vast majority of them were men. In addition, another great segment of German manhood remains in captivity as prisoners of war. At the Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Moscow in March, 1947, the victorious nations reported they were holding 2.7 million prisoners of war for use in reconstruction of devastated areas. Thus, Germany's bid for *lebensraum* actually resulted in the loss of close to six million of her male population. These vanished millions were the flower of German manhood, men between the ages of 20 and 40 at the height of their productive and reproductive powers.

THERE are in Potsdam Germany, therefore, two men for every three women between the ages of 20 and 40. World War I and its aftermath had already wrought profound changes in German morals, especially sex morals. The crude campaign of the Nazis for an increased birth rate, conducted with brazen disregard for traditional morality, was hardly conducive to undoing the damage done to the family as a basic institution of German society. There is nothing in the present situation which suggests a reversal of that disrupting tendency. On the contrary, it appears inevitable that Germany will undergo further deviations from the norms of sex and family conventions usually practiced in Western countries.

This abrupt and massive diminution of the young and productive

le age groups will also have a most ious effect in German economic duction for years to come. The rage German is older than he was 1936, and there is correspondingly arger quota of non-producers. The t that German industrial output s declined to from 30 to 45 per- it of pre-war production is in large rt explained by destruction and re- val of manufacturing equipment, sufficiency of raw material imports d administrative inefficiencies. But e most important single obstacle to rman economic recovery is deterio- tion of the human element. The rking force is not only poorly urished but consists of an abnor- ally high percentage of women and ed men, a type of population hardly nducive to high scale production.

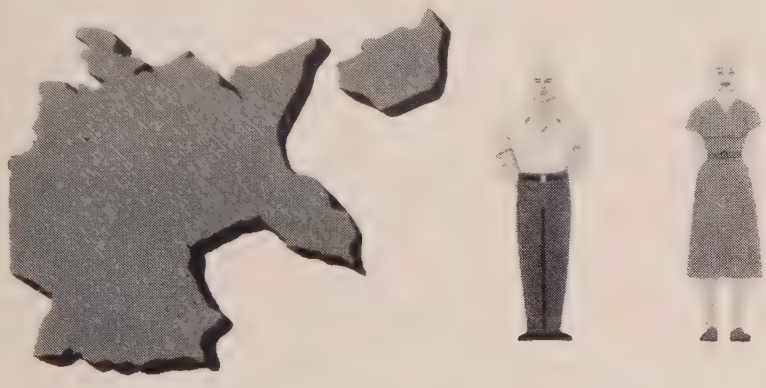
The German birth rate which had gun to drop noticeably during the st two years of the fighting, did not respond to the restoration of peace. It remains even now below the pre-war rate. German infant mortality which before the war was the lowest in the world except for Sweden and New Zealand, was in 1946 nearly twice as high as in 1936. No figures have been published recently. But it is likely that poor diet and lack of proper medical and hygienic care have made the greatest inroads upon those age groups which are most vulnerable, the children. These circumstances, together with the fact that the German population at the height of Hitler's drive for babies failed by about one tenth to reproduce itself, marks Germany for a real decrease in population in another decade or two.

FOR many years to come, however, there will be no diminution of population pressure in Germany. With an average of 185 people per square kilometer it is one of the most densely settled areas of Europe. This phenomenon is wholly the result of a migratory movement with few parallels in history. The Potsdam Agreement provided for the expulsion of 6.6 million from their homes and their resettlement on the soil of the drastically shrunken Germany. So far, over five million Germans have been uprooted and moved out of the east-German provinces annexed by Poland and the Soviet Union, from the Sudeten lands of Czechoslovakia, from Rumania, Yugoslavia and other eastern European countries. Another million and a half are still to be relocated.

The homeward trek of the so-called *Volksdeutsche,* "racial Germans" hardest hit by the Hiterian curse, reversed the Nazi theory of expansion. It contributed to that constriction which the Germans will have to solve on the territory available to them.

Since these Germans had, with only rare exceptions, made common cause with the Nazi invaders, there is little cause to question the motives which prompted the Potsdam decision. Nazi Germany herself, set the example for ruthless mass expulsions. But, for Potsdam Germany, the inflow of millions of dispossessed is another appalling problem added to the long list of calamities cast up by defeat. Except for their German speech the newcomers are utter strangers to the way of life of the people who were reared on the soil of the old Reich. The contingents of these migrant Germans contain too, a substantial surplus of females over males, of aged over young. A large part of the immigrants consists of farmers, and Potsdam Germany, especially the western regions which received the bulk of the immigration, does not boast areas of uncultivated soil sufficient or fertile enough to support them.

HITLER proposed to solve a fictitious German population problem by conquest. It is ironic that the hypocritical cry for *lebensraum* has turned into dismal reality. The seventy million inhabitants of truncated Germany are indeed a "people without space." The Nazi lie has come home to roost.



1936 — GERMANY: Area: 181,000 square miles. Population: 67.6 million

Male: 32.8 million Female: 34.8 million

POTSDAM-GERMANY: Area: 138,000 miles. Population: 70 million

Male: 31 million Female: 39 million

Mountbatten

A once gossiped-about royal playboy is credited with saving millions of lives in India and earning a chance to become Prime Minister of Britain.

BY EDMOND DEMAITRE

LORD CURZON once said that the ambition of every respectable British gentleman ought to be first, to marry a beautiful, rich heiress, secondly to be Viceroy of India and thirdly, to become Prime Minister. At the age of twenty-two, Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas Mountbatten married a beautiful society girl, Edwina Cynthia Ashley, daughter of multi-millionaire Lord Mount Temple, who was Minister of Transport in several Conservative cabinets. A little less than twenty-five years later he arrived in New Delhi as Viceroy of His Majesty the Emperor of India. And now, after completing one of the most difficult tasks any Viceroy ever had to perform, many Britons are wondering if Mountbatten will succeed where Curzon (who made an excellent marriage and also became Viceroy) had failed, by stepping into the shoes of Clement Attlee as head of Britain's first post-war coalition government.

The habitués of Parliament's famous Whispering Gallery who frequently discuss Mountbatten's premiership as an utterly plausible eventuality, willingly admit that it would not lack piquancy if a full-blooded aristocrat, a second cousin of the King and a man-about-own, lionized by London's smart set, were to become head of a Labor-supported coalition government. They point out, however, that political oddities are not exceptional in British history. Disraeli, a Jew, acceded to power with the help of ultra-conservative Tories. An ex-revolutionary and ex-conscientious-objector, Ramsay MacDonald, rose to the premiership of the National government. A stalwart liberal, Winston Churchill became the stern leader of the Conservative Party.

In British politics, principles count more than family background, party ties or social conventions. When discussing the possibility of Mountbatten's premiership, observers keep in mind that as far as Great Britain's most fateful problem is concerned, there is little or no difference of opinion between the Labor leaders and the great-grandson of Queen Victoria. They may hold conflicting views on questions of nationalization, wage-policy or social services, but they are all in agreement regarding the complete and radical reorganization of the British Empire.

As far as the Empire is concerned, Mountbatten is a revolutionary. Convinced that henceforth no power on earth can arrest the progress of ideas which have set in motion the masses of Asia and Africa, he advocates the setting up of a federation of nations, as a successor to the Commonwealth. This federation of independent units would serve as the nucleus of a broader agglomeration which might ultimately include nations having neither constitutional nor political ties with the present Commonwealth. Mountbatten believes that only a federation of this type could prevent economic and social upheavals on an unprecedented scale.

TWENTY years ago such ideas would have been branded as absurd or harmful by most Englishmen. If, today, many responsible Britons agree with Mountbatten it is because his ideas correspond more or less to those professed by the members of the Imperial General Sta The latter make no secret of the changed conception of the Empire accordance with their changed ide of imperial defense. After World W I the salient passing from Khyb Pass to Singapore was consider one of the backbones of the massi structure of imperial strategy. Toda far greater importance is attached the defense line passing from Dak to the Indian Ocean. This perhaps e plains to a certain extent why it w Mountbatten, a sailor and a soldi who got the delicate assignment liquidating the British conquest India.

His manner of carrying it out was masterpiece of diplomacy. Faced wi an incredibly complex situatio Mountbatten showed surprising sk in mediating between the hostile fa tions, in finding conciliatory form las, and in respecting the often ha raising idiosyncrasies of vario Indian leaders. He was liked Gandhi, who was a saint, and is spected by Nehru, who is far fro being one. Thanks to his tact and energy, the British were able to wi draw without severing the ties whi might one day link India to the Fe eration Mountbatten plans to erect the remnants of the old Empire.

Preparing the withdrawal of t British was only a part of the i mense task which Mountbatten h to accomplish. Far more difficult we the jobs of reconciling Hindus a Moslems, finding a platform which partition could be carried o and preventing India from plun ing into the bloodiest of civil wa The role which Mountbatten h played in persuading Hindus a

oslems to accept partition is fairly ell known. But too few are appreative of the immense service Mountatten had rendered to the cause of ndia — and of humanity — by limitg the devastation which the unashing of popular passions was ound to cause in all parts of the eninsula. The number of Hindus nd Moslems who were swept by the orm which followed the partition, as by no means negligible. But witht the untiring efforts, the smooth inrventions and the calm authority of Iountbatten, the upheaval in India ould have reached catastrophic proortions. His personal diplomacy must be credited with having saved millions of lives.

To conquer an empire is difficult; to consolidate the conquest is more difficult; but to liquidate it properly is the most difficult of all. Arriving in India two years ago, Mountbatten set to the task with the same cold-blooded determination which he showed when commanding a destroyer flotilla or when organizing Commando raids on Europe. He arrived for the ceremony of investiture in a black limousine instead of riding the sumptuously harnessed elephant which is kept for this special purpose in the stables of the Vice-Regal Lodge. The Indians who believe in symbols immediately understood that the old romantic days of imperial splendor were over; the era of the reconstruction of the Empire had now begun.

THE man who was destined to become the most resolute champion of imperial reconstruction was born in Trogmore Castle, Windsor, forty-eight years ago. Under the influence of his father, he entered the Royal Navy at the age of sixteen, with the rank of midshipman.

The Mountbattens, like the Windsors, are of German origin. Like the

Young Mountbatten played polo and wrote a textbook about it.

Captain Mountbatten toasted sailors and reviewed soldie

first princes of Hanover — from which the present royal family stems — the first Battenbergs to settle in England were fairly unpopular in their new country. They were suspected of strong pro-German leanings and of giving more consideration to their family interests than to those of their adopted fatherland. During the first World War, Prince Louis of Battenberg (father of the present Earl), First Sea Lord and former Chief of Naval Intelligence, was openly accused by his enemies of having revealed important military secrets to the Germans. It was rumored that he had handed maps of England's coastal defenses to the German agent Gustav Hummel who died in an aircrash while flying a British plane from France to England. Although no credence was ever given to these defamatory campaigns, a few months after the beginning of the hostilities Prince Louis was compelled to resign and leave active service.

The Duke of Windsor recalls in his memoirs that this incident deeply hurt Prince Louis and there is little doubt that it also affected his son. By an interesting coincidence Winston Churchill, who appointed the present Earl to Supreme Command in South East Asia, was also the First Lord of the Admiralty who requested Mountbatten's father to resign. It was not until 1917 that the father of the future Supreme Commander anglicized the family name from Battenberg to Mountbatten.

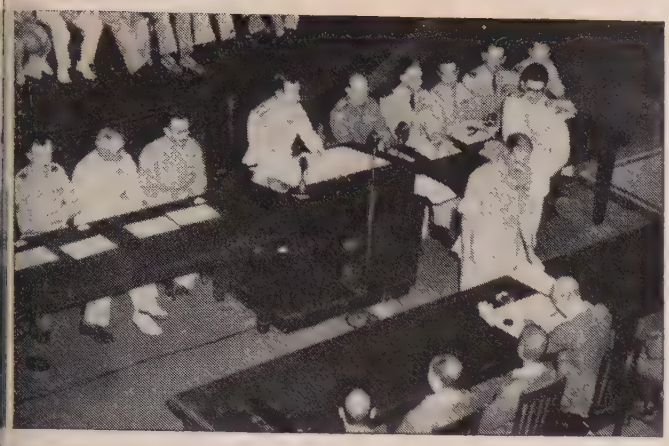
AN ambitious sailor, young Mountbatten was interested not only in the strategical aspects of his profession but also in the technical problems of naval warfare. Before the first World War ended he had become a submarine specialist and received his first command as captain of a submarine. It is typical of his frankness that after his first dive, he exclaimed "God, how frightened I was!" But he kept on diving all the same. His knowledge of submarine warfare proved to be of great value when, twenty-five years later, he had to coordinate the Combined Operations in which submarines frequently played an important part.

In 1922, aboard the *Renown,* Mountbatten accompanied the Prince of Wales on his trip to Australia and New Zealand. The year after he with him to India, China and J During these tours they became close friends. In days to "David" and "Dickie" were seen having royal fun in some brighter spots in London, Pa on the Riviera. Mountbatten, a cellent dancer, enjoys spending hours in a night-club.

Polo is another of his fa passtimes. He inherited it to with his love of the sea fro father. Louis Battenberg had duced polo in the Navy; Mount made it popular. Before the w kept a stable of polo ponies and anonymous articles on polo p for a sport paper. He is also t thor of a standard work call *troduction to Polo* published the pseudonym of "Marco."

Mountbatten is very fond of cars. On one of his trips United States during the wa miral King asked him what k supplies he wanted. Mountbatt swered laconically: "Two Cadi

Mountbatten has an abiding in his destiny. Upon being fish of the water when his ship the



Admiral Mountbatten punished enemies and smiled on a friend.

Diplomat Mountbatten visited China's Chiangs, Pakistan's Jinnahs.

was sunk by a German *Stuka* near Crete, his first words were: "It is funny how sure you are that you will survive. . . . " Since it took the battle-scarred *Kelly* exactly seventy-seven seconds to disappear in the blue waters of the Mediterranean, there may be something to his belief. In saving himself, however, he failed to rescue two of his most treasured souvenirs — a photograph of the King and the Queen which stood on his desk, and a heavy silver cigarette case given to him by the Duke of Windsor, both signed: "To Dickie, with love. . . . "

The sinking of the *Kelly* proved to be of decisive importance to Mountbatten's career. After his adventure in the Mediterranean, he was sent to the United States to take command of the aircraft carrier *Illustrious*. He met many people, including Walt Disney, whom he persuaded to design a Donald Duck emblem for his ship. But his visit had other, more important consequences. President Roosevelt, Harry Hopkins and General Marshall were so impressed by his ideas and personality that they urged Churchill to appoint him Chief of Combined Operations. It was at that moment that the Commandos, as they were popularly known, were to be reorganized in order to complete the blockade of Nazi-occupied Europe.

Mountbatten believes in action. "It is only by going back on the offensive" he used to say during those critical days, "That we can win the war." His Commandos kept on striking at Dieppe, St. Nazaire, Bruneval and Vaagso, in Britanny and in the lonely islands of the North Sea. Speaking of his soldiers, Mountbatten once remarked that a Commando "should have the imagination of a mystery writer, the cunning of a burglar, the endurance of an Olympic athlete and the patriotism of a hero." This was a lot to ask, but by personal example Mountbatten succeeded in proving to his men that nothing was impossible. He summed up his principles of command in one short sentence: "It is no good telling chaps to do something you cannot do yourself."

He applied the same principle when he was appointed Supreme Allied Commander in South East Asia. "We have to galvanize everyone" was his motto. There was much raising of eyebrows in New Delhi and later in Ceylon where the "Supremo," as he was called, ordered his servants to wear spotless white gloves when serving dry martinis or *chotta pegs*. There was also much talk about the number of iceboxes flown to General Headquarters. But as time passed, his men realized that the Supremo was just as fussy about the delivery of amunition. He took good care that together with the iceboxes an adequate number of machine-guns, mortars and fighter-planes also reached the operational bases.

A STRANGE mixture of idealism and realism, of mundane flippancy and of admirable self-discipline, Mountbatten is fully aware of the highly attractive contradictions in his character. He once jokingly remarked: "I am a zebra! One third soldier, one third sailor and one third airman." During his stay in India he proved that he is also one of the world's great diplomats. With luck, he may go down in history as the man who rebuilt the British Empire.

U N politically speaking

BY EVELYN G. KESSEL

About people and happenings in and around the United Nations

Cloak and Dagger Delegate

Alarums and excursions of the '40's are over. But behind many a staid exterior at Lake Success, stir memories of peril, imprisonment and escape from death. Yesterday's swashbucklers now pore over statistics at their desks, deliberate in council-rooms.

"I am not used to talking about myself," Alexandre Parodi began diffidently. We sat before the fireplace in a friend's library. The intrepid co-leader, with Bidault, of the French Resistance — nothing concealed his identity from the Gestapo but a fictitious name and a mustache — has none of the D'Artagnan *panache*. He is a man of quiet charm — shy, dry ("a dryness calculated to conceal the shyness," says a colleague), with a concise pragmatic approach to any question. To use columnese, there's no hokum or hoopla about Parodi. He is slim, trimly, but not modishly dressed, reserved in gesture, with a modest clever face. His English, halting, French-accented ("Security Council English I understand," he says, "but not cinema English") is punctuated with pleasing "may-I say-so's."

Parodi's academic background trained him for civil service rather than diplomacy. In his first phase he was *Conseiller d'Etat,* then followed other French government posts. Today, though Permanent Representative of France on the Security Council of the U.N., Delegate to the Economic and Social Council, Representative on the Atomic Energy Commission, some still find him a bit "high *fonctionnaire.*"

But in evaluating him, one of his delegation points out that unlike Bidault (whom Parodi greatly likes) Parodi is the skeptical, sardonic northern Frenchman, the type predominating in serious periods of French politics. His is the detachment of the intellectual: he doesn't believe in things at face value, will not fight for things because told to do so, is not a slave to tradition or system. Parodi is friendly, informal, often amusing, but not expansive; "even good wine wouldn't change Parodi," they say, "though he'd enjoy the wine."

It was in 1942 that Parodi's war and political career became interlaced. If man must "engage himself" to make his life significant, then Parodi exemplifies the Existentialist slogan. He thoroughly engaged himself. The Parodi activities now began to multiply: take on a Dumas character. It was an intimate, stirring page of French history that he turned for me before the low-burning log-fire.

Under suspicion, dismissed by the Vichy Government in 1942, Parodi began working underground with Robert LaCoste and others. He was asked by de Gaulle, in coded cables, to become Governor of Algiers, but the cables fell into the hands of the Gestapo. "I had to acquire false papers, a false personality, no longer live my own life," Parodi recalls.

The confusions of his harried existence — lurking in dark alleys, scuttling behind doors — drove him from one friend's house to another, till he found a flat of his own in which to hide that *alter ego* with another name (then "Quartus") which was his dauntless self.

From '44 when Parodi became the representative of de Gaulle, his career takes on a broader sweep. Parodi — then "Cerat" — as Delegate-General, and Bidault as president, were now top-flighters in the National Council of Resistance. "We had to decide whether or not to go along with the insurrection already brewing in Paris — a terrible responsibility. For Paris might have been destroyed." After 24 hours' struggle, the Germans asked for a truce. "A great victory for the Underground! We occupied all the public buildings. Historically, those who have the heart of the city have all the city," he said.

The Allies had not yet reached Paris. It was a period of "trait" (cease fire). Parodi and LaCoste, speeding up on the Boulevard St. Germain in a car packed with Resistance propaganda leaflets were stopped by the Gestapo; questioned at headquarters for twelve hours. Th German military commander release them because of an agreement wit the Resistance. The Gestapo followed firing all the way! In a period lik the Resistance, remarked an associ ate, quiet, unassuming men lik Parodi, not keen for adventure, foun themselves in the midst of it.

The struggle resumed two day later. People were building barri cades all over Paris with pavin blocks, old carriages, sewing-ma chines, — anything they could la hands on. "Then the first Frenc troops came into Paris with Gen. Bil lotte, who is now on my staff. D Gaulle formed the first governmen from men in Algiers and the Under ground. I was Minister of Labor fo a year."

Parodi set down his liqueur glass "Never, may-I-say-so, have I talke so much about myself."

From Rome, where he served a Ambassador, he came to the UN. " was so contented in Rome in th beautiful Farnese Palace" he say wistfully.

With his French furniture an French chef, Parodi feels at home i his New York house. His Swiss wife, pianist, is teaching their two boys t play too. He met her in Switzerlan the only time his family went on va cation to the mountains instead o the sea.

At first she approached diplomati entertaining like a student. Now sh is adept. She is natural and kind, a is her husband.

I asked the inevitable question What did he think of Americai women?

"There is no unity of Style here," said Parodi. "American women ar *belles, grandes,* but may-I-say-so, perhaps less well-dressed than th French. At a ball in Paris, everyon is dressed with individuality, but i the style of the moment. In Ne York, every woman dresses according to her own taste."

"No, I am not *sportif.* But do no say so. I shall be disgraced!"

"Alexandre Parodi is a man of quiet charm — with a concise pragmatic approach."

ovie Material

English-born, French-educated Jacueline Nearne is another stoutarted young lady of adventure. She in the UN Liaison Section, under an de Noeu, which acts as liaison tween the delegations and Secreriat; and is generally the delegate's st contact upon arrival here. Genal aim of her department is to make e delegate comfortable and help m out — even to explaining the oyrinthine subway system.

Miss Nearne came to the UN by ıy of the UN Preparatory Commisın in London, where she worked. e has a pert nose, determined jaw rna Doone hair-cut, dramatic manr. When I talked with her, she oked slender and efficient in tweeds.

Jacqueline was a brave and busy girl during the war. She left France when war was declared to train in shooting, sabotage, etc. in an English organization similar to the O.S.S. People who knew and looked French were needed. Despite English citizenship, her speech and manner are more Gallic than British.

With her "organizer," as a team of two, they were to fly to France. Said Jacqueline, "It was the happiest day of my life — at last I could be useful." They made four false starts, returning each time to England. Then on a January midnight, they were dropped by parachute. "I was thrilled when I knew I was really going to jump! But on the ground no reception committee to meet us (or 'blind' as we say), — only three shadowy forms, one with a light. We started to shoot, but stopped." The forms were here organizer and two trees!

Jacqueline, posing as French, had false identification papers. She had to show them several times at critical moments. "If I didn't show a tell-tale face — fine; but if they'd checked with the *mairie* where I was supposedly registered, it would have been just too bad."

"Part of our job," Jacqueline went on, "was planning by radio with the B.B.C. for what was needed— arms or agents; then do the receptions, receive arms, guide the parachuters safely. Radio-operator would communicate with London and the answer might be, for instance: "*Toto mange ta soupe,*" meaning that two nights later planes would arrive with agents or whatever we needed. Wonderful after several days wait to see our planes circling over us, dropping supplies, agents, orders!"

"With other trained people we did sabotage — we might have to blow up a railway or factory," said the girl. Her narrowest escape was when after a short nap in a farm-house, as she walked out one door, some Germans stalked through the other in search of her. Her "organizer" was not so lucky — he was captured and sent to Buchenwald.

After the liberation, she was in a British documentary film — exteriors made in France — "School for Danger." It took a year to make. It told the story of two agents, girl and boy — their recruiting, training, parachute jumps. Jacqueline played her self. The picture was shown in London and on Broadway.

"I enjoy my work with the UN," Jacqueline said. "Everyone's so nice. I associate mostly with UN people. American girls are luckly compared to European ones! A little *dactylo* (steno) here who wants something new for a party, just rushes out to buy it. It's a long time before I buy a dress. Girls here seem to dictate to their men-friends.

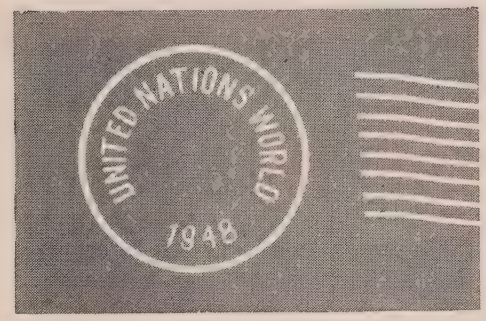
"I can't relax — perhaps my war experience — or is it the atmosphere? People here are so tense. I've had no real vacation. I'm saving my time to go back to France. I want to see my parents."

Report on the

STATE OF THE WORLD

in Apri

WORLD POSTMARKS • WORLD LAW • WORLD BUSINESS • WORLD FILES • UN DIAR



World Postmarks

Inside reports and analyses of world events you may not find in your newspapers.

WESTERN EUROPE
Czech Aftermath

Ever since the Czechoslovak crisis, Europe is divided between two major schools of thought. The first professes to be convinced that the sudden closing of the Czech gap in the pro-Soviet bloc will act as a sedative on Moscow nerves. They expect a calmer Russian foreign policy now that the second security belt around the Soviet Union is pulled in tightly. A belief seems to be general in these circles that, with the settlement of the Czechoslovak crisis, the USSR concluded its program of expansion.

The other school, far more pessimistic, expects a further deterioration of east-west relations. The comparative ease, they maintain, with which the Communists succeeded in taking over Czechoslovakia will merely whet the appetites of Russian leaders. An election year in the U. S. is regarded as not particularly conducive to energetic political action beyond the confines of convention halls. With the two major U. S. parties engaged in gathering up votes, the USSR, these observers believe, will be left to act without interference.

The solutions proposed by the supporters of these two schools of thought are as different as their basic assumptions. The first suggests that a gesture of reconciliation be made toward the East, the West saying to the Soviet Government something like this: "Now that you have completed your global political, economic and military control over a sphere of influence even larger than that assigned to you during the war, we suggest that both of us make a major effort to improve our relations. We in the West will try to discourage the anti-Soviet trend which has taken on considerable proportions in our countries. In return, we will expect that your political and propaganda machines, both within your own sphere of influence and in the rest of the world, will progressively reduce attacks against the West."

Statements to that effect by Truman, Attlee, Schuman, De Gasperi, Gottwald, Groza and Stalin could change the situation overnight. The 1948 harvest in Europe promises to be one of the best in the history of that continent. It is expected to relieve the pressing food needs of Europe to alleviate the dollar shortage, and to permit the exchange of industrial products, easing the tension.

The supporters of the second school of thought believe that the time has come to show Russia that any single step further — whether in Greece, Italy, Turkey, the Scandinavian Peninsula, France or Spain — would result in immediate military action by the Western powers. Therefore, a military and political alliance binding together as much as possible of Western Europe into one armed camp, and tied to the U. S. military alliance is now regarded as being indispensab

Since the Soviet Union has adopt a policy of force, only greater fo can stop her. Russia must be isolate The communist parties of Weste Europe must be eliminated from a position of power either held by th collectively or by their members dividually and driven into an oppo tion of permanent sterility.

While the great debate continu the foremost European governme in the western bloc are already le ing toward the second school.

BRUSSELS
Western Union

Despite the weakness of th armies, the obsolescence of their w pons, the near-bankruptcy of th economies, the countries of Weste Europe are preparing to combine th military strength and to emerge as world's third most powerful fo

As none of the Western Europe countries is strong enough to beco a decisive military factor by its the United Kingdom, France and Benelux nations (Belgium, the Ne erlands and Luxembourg) made historic decision to enter into an a ance as a possible first step tow complete union. When and if the union becomes a reality, it will rep sent a bloc of 100,000,000 Europea with additional scores of millions various colonial possessions and in

ominions of the British Commonealth. All of them, with the probable xception of India, are expected to in the Western bloc. Italy will be rawn into the bloc indirectly, by way f the Franco-Italian customs union.

The new military bloc would comand the world's second largest navy nd third largest air force. Their joint nd armies could muster more than 0 million trained soldiers.

The decision to bring about a union, hich the long-standing danger of erman aggression never succeeded in aterializing, was reached on the ighest governmental level in the ountries involved in the plan. They re eager to come to a decision uickly. The reason for the speed lies the fact that, for the time being, one of the five countries involved as communist cabinet ministers.

However, widespread popular fear hat war may result slows down a quick aterialization of the plan. The very rength of this feeling compels the overnments to move cautiously, and draft the first documents with exreme care. The best legal brains of e Foreign Office and Quai d'Orsay re assigned to the task of their preration. The impression is created that e proposed union is mainly directed gainst recurrent German aggression, ut the documents are so drafted as include the comprehensive phrase against all aggressors."

Several participants in the Brussels onference emphasized the necessity f establishing the union within the ramework of the United Nations, as regional organization under Article 2 of the Charter. It is expected that uring the forthcoming discussions of e proposed union in the House of ommons and in the French National ssembly, pro-UN parlamentarians ill make such a provision the preondition for support of the bloc.

TANGIERS
Forced Landing

In the course of a single afternoon, st month, this City was the scene of most extraordinary series of "forced ndings" by diplomatic planes.

First to land was General Alphonse uin, French High Commissioner in lorocco. Returning from a trip to aris where he reported the troubleome political situation in Morocco his Government. His pilot comlained of bad weather conditions, despite the magnificent blue sky over Tangiers.

Apparently undisturbed by the unrecorded storm, General Juin stepped from the plane smiling broadly. He happened to be met by General Varela, Franco's High Commissioner to Spanish Morocco, who had just made an emergency landing himself on a flight from Tetuan.

Despite the fact that the Franco-Spanish border was still closed, and that diplomatic relations between the two countries were strained, the two High Commissioners greeted each other with great warmth.

In the town proper they met Foreign Minister Martin Artajo of Spain, who had arrived 15 minutes earlier as a result of another "forced landing."

Spanish official communiqués hastened to explain that the Foreign Minister was flying to the south of Andalusia to hunt when meterological conditions forced his plane to change its course to Tetuan. Then his pilot ran out of gasoline — over Tangiers.

The result of these accidental meetings was as unexpected as the forced landings themselves. The Franco-Spanish border was reopened.

A few days later, a little notice in a Madrid newspaper announced that Senor Artajo and Mr. Culbertson, Chargé d'Affairs of the U. S. Embassy at Madrid, returning from a brief visit to North Africa followed by a hunting party in Andalusia, had landed safely at the Madrid airport

PRAGUE
Post Mortem

When UNW's correspondent last saw President Eduard Benes, he found him talking freely and confidently about his relations with the Soviet Union. The President revealed that in the course of years he evolved a formula for his dealings with the USSR. "All you have to do is to meet the Soviets a little more than half way," he said with a whimsical smile.

The formula proved inadequate for his recent dealings with Klement Gottwald. The Premier wanted his President to go the whole way. Gottwald later disclosed that during the showdown Benes bemoaned the failure of his formula, "but," the Premier added, "there was little else he could do."

He appeared genuinely sorry for Benes — but there was little else Gottwald could do, either. He had his orders.

In Prague, the crisis assumed tragic overtones with Jan Masaryk's suicide. In the world's chancelleries, too, it continued to linger on. Code clerks are still working overtime on the long political reports envoys keep on sending to their home offices from Prague. Some of the material emerging from the ciphers is hardly worth the midnight oil. It is culled from the coordinated Prague press and represents the official version of events.

A totally different, and vastly more exciting, version is presented by confidential informants of whom every self-respecting mission in Prague seems to have a more than adequate supply. Their task is no longer easy, since Premier Gottwald's new regime managed to shut off almost all pipelines into listening posts. Precious little genuine information is now reaching these unimpeachable sources. As a result they treat their clients to an elaborate diplomatic *kaffeeklatsch* in the best Central European tradition.

Once decoded and properly analyzed by the "desks" back home, these dispatches appear unanimous on only two scores. They all agree in censuring the opposition for handing the crisis to Premier Gottwald on a silver platter. They also criticize the ambassador of a western power for the unfortunate timing of his press conference, virtually on the eve of the crisis. It provided the Communists with the peg onto which they could expediently hang their familiar charge of outside interference.

The greatest mystery is why the Communists decided to streamline their influence in Czechslovakia even at the expense of further aggravating anti-Soviet sentiment.

What may be the answer to this question was provided a few weeks ago by the Gottwald government itself. A public opinion poll released by the Ministry of Information indicated a declining popularity of Communism. In Czechslovakia the results of the poll were kept ambiguous, but insiders know that its figures caused alarm in Gottwald's inner circle. The men around Gottwald were convinced that the next elections would return the right-wing socialists and Benes's National Socialist Party to positions of dominance. There was little time to lose.

Virtually the first act of the new Gottwald regime was to postpone elec-

tions. It is hardly a sign of strength when a government which claimed to be swept into power by popular acclaim, dares not demand a confirmation of its mandate from the people.

This may be the domestic answer to the question. But there seems to be another in the sphere of Russo-Czechoslovak relations. The Danubian republic persisted in maintaining its precarious position between the east and the west. Voices demanding participation in the Marshall Plan were difficult to silence. In this connection, Dr. Hubert Ripka was a key figure in the crisis. A staunch advocate of a trade-with-the-west policy, the crisis itself caught him in the midst of trade negotiations with the Netherlands and Belgium. His removal from the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the appointment of a Communist to his former post means the end of Czech nostalgia for western connections.

ROME
Presidential Problem

When Italy's aristocratic scholarly, 69-year old President Enrico de Nicola looks down from the window of his office in the Quirinal, he can almost read the flaming proclamations painted on the walls of Roman houses.

The electioneering of Italy's political parties has reached a feverish pitch of excitement weeks before the country is due to go to the polls. The clamor has reached the President's office, confronting him with a potentially ticklish constitutional problem. In secrecy, he is consulting Italy's best legal brains on those provisions of the new Constitution which outline the President's role in naming a Prime Minister.

The President must prepare for any eventuality. He must contemplate the situation in which a popular bloc of Togliatti's Communists, Nenni's Socialists, Parri's Action Party and other splinter groups emerge from the elections as the strongest political force.

The President scrutinizes, not only the Italian constitution, but also the parliamentary procedures of other countries, notably those of France, which at one time or another in recent history found themselves in a situation similar to the one that may develop in Italy.

The Italian people fully appreciate the decisive importance of their forthcoming elections. In a sense, not only Italy's future but the future of peace itself, may hinge on their outcome. Wild rumors make the rounds of Rome, Naples and Milan. People "in the know" talk freely of the possibility of simultaneous intervention by Yugoslavs and Russians from the east, and combined Anglo-American forces from the west, should trouble ensue in the wake of the elections.

But Italy's man of the street remains the cynic he always was. In the midst of all the agitation he derives considerable glee from the bidding of the east and the west for the favors of Italian voters. Announcements of imminent American aid through the Marshall Plan, Friendship Trains and similar manifestations of good will are widely discussed. The Yugoslavs and even the Albanians have evinced a sympathy for Italy, as sudden as it was unexpected.

The Yugoslavs even agreed to return a whole fleet of fishing boats confiscated after the liberation.

The Albanians offered to repatriate Italians stranded there since the incorporation of Albania into Mussolini's empire.

The Russian proposal that Italy's former colonies should be placed under Italian trusteeship is regarded in a similar category.

As one Italian statesman put it to UNW's correspondent, "If only Italy could hold elections every three months, if all elections could be of such vital significance to the world, and if we did not need to announce the results, we would probably be set on our feet very soon, what with the lavish support from the east and the west — which unfortunately fades away as soon as the critical period is past."

CARACAS
Democracy with a Vengeance

If any lingering doubt still remained in anyone's mind that Venezuela is now a democratic country it was dispelled at the parade held in honor of the inauguration of the new president, Romulo Gallegos. Stretched along the narrow *Avenida O'Higgins*, sat the president and high-ranking officers and diplomats from almost every nation on earth. Thronged alongside and around them, and lining the street opposite was half the citizenry of Caracas. In the flowering trees directly across from the presidential stand perched adherents Venezuela's two small rival comm nist parties. As the cadets, troops a sailors of many nations passed by review, they shouted catcalls at the at the newly elected president, a at each other. This did not seem disturb anyone, least of all the pre dent himself. *Caraquenos* took it goo naturedly and jeered back at the Not a move was made to dislodge t noisy jackdaws from their perch *Norteamericanos* present imagin what would happen if communis perched in the trees of Pennsylvan Avenue attempted to jeer a newl elected U. S. President at his inaug ration.

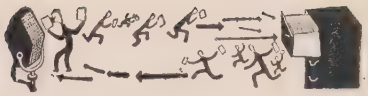
Following the parade, the pre dent's black open-top touring car dre up to the stand. With no other esco than a single motorcycle policeman no plainclothesmen or even uniform men to accompany him — the pre dent and his family drove ba through the city to the presidenti palace. Previous presidents had quired phalanxes of troops to get the through the city safely.

The streets of Caracas are narro and very easily jammed. On that da with hundreds of cars returning fro the parade, traffic crawled at a snai pace and the president's car was fr quently stalled. Throngs scurryi along the sidewalks recognized hi and with a glad shout of "*Romulo* (they did not call him "Don Gallego or even "*Señor*") they swarm around the car, shaking his hand touching him, while women attempt to kiss him.

It would have been a simple matt for any crackpot or political enem to have done him harm. Many Ven zuelans carried revolvers — on ente ing the baseball park or race tra you must open your coat to show t police you are not carrying arms. Fu thermore, the election had been hot contested and the inauguration itse had been threatened by bombi planes secretly dispatched by an democratic elements, who had be ousted in the Revolution of 1945. Y Gallegos showed no more conce than if he had been breakfasting his own kitchen.

The whole scene redolent of goo will, joy and a promise of happy da to come under a benevolent admin tration, reminded foreign observe more of a family reunion than the auguration of the head of a state.

un WORLD files



Summary of important speeches, treaties and other international documents. Copies available at cost. Send key number to World Files, *United Nations World, 385 Madison Avenue, New York 17.*

28:48 French Devalue Franc

January 24, Paris

French franc devaluated to 216 to the dollar, and free market in francs created. *Note*: It is planned by this means to stimulate export business, bring hard money into the country, and gold out of hoarding.

29:48 Rumanian-Hungarian Treaty

January 24, Budapest

Provides for twenty years of friendship and joint military action against any attacking state.

30:48 USSR-Polish Trade Pact

January 26, Moscow

1. Provides for more than $1,000,000,000 exchange of goods.

2. Poland to deliver coal, coke, textiles, sugar, zinc, railway rolling stock, cement, etc. U.S.S.R. to deliver iron, chromium, and manganese ores, oil products, cotton, aluminum, asbestos, automobiles and tractors.

31:48 Italian-Argentine Agreement

January 26, Buenos Aires

100,000 Italians to emigrate to Argentina during 1948. Treaty also provides higher wages and job security for immigrants.

32:48 Burma Nationalizes Teak Business

January 27, Rangoon

As of June 1st, Burma to take over one-third of the country's teak-producing forests, according to an announcement of Burmese Ministry of Agriculture and Forests.

33:48 British Note to China

January 27, London

1. Criticized "exagerated and misleading" reports published in Chinese language newspapers over recent eviction of squatters from Hong Kong area.

2. Stated that police were met by organized resistence in carrying out of their duty, and explained:

"From the point of view of the community at large the area in question, consisting of a disordered cluster of overcrowded wooden huts, without proper sanitary arrangements, presented a grave danger to health and a serious risk of fire."

3. The note asked the Chinese Government to make sure that the British viewpoint was placed before the people.

34:48 Guatemala Note to Britain

January 28, Guatemala

For the fifth time Guatemala sent a protest to Britain objecting to British plans to colonize British Honduras which Guatemala claims as a national territory.

Note: The British ordered three cruisers to Belize, British Honduras to counteract the "belligerent behavior" of the Guatemalan government. To this action the Guatemalan Government replied by protesting to the United Nations, the Pan American Union and every American country individually that the sending of a warship into Guatemalan territorial waters was "an unjustified provocation and an insult to our national dignity."

35:48 U.S.S.R. Protests Re-Opening of Tripoli Airfield

January 29, Moscow

In a note the U.S.S.R. protested that the use of the Mellaha airfield in Libya for American planes was in violation of the Italian peace treaty.

36:48 U.S. Rejects Soviet Protest

February 3, Washington

"The Government of the U.S. wishes to point out that the continuation of the arrangement with regard to the use of Mellaha airfield by the US Air Force for communications purposes extends only for the period during which the present administration remains responsible for the territory. In the circumstances, the Government of the U.S. does not consider that such an arrangement is inconsistent with the provisions of Annex XI or any provision of the treaty of peace with Italy."

37:48 U.S., U.S.S.R., Italy Note Exchange

January 30, Moscow

U.S.S.R. note to Washington stating that the presence of U.S. warships in Italian ports constituted a violation of the Italian peace treaty which stipulated that allied troops were to be withdrawn from Italy by December 15, 1947.

January 31, Rome

Italian note to Moscow stated that Italy was a sovereign nation and had the right to decide without foreign interference whether warships from other powers were welcome in her ports, and that the first news she had of the Russian note was from information published in newspapers.

February 2, Washington

U.S. replied to U.S.S.R. that the calls were made with the consent of the Italian Government, and that such a procedure was routine and is traditional in naval history.

38:48 Chile Rejects British Protest

January 31, Chile

British protest against establishment of Chilean military base in British claimed territories in the Antarctic rejected on the grounds that she had maintained sovereignty over the Antarctic sector "delimited in 1940."

39:48 Soviet Note to U.S.

February 1, London

Demands that U.S. commanders forbid U.S. aircraft from diving and circling over Soviet ships in the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan.

40:48 U.S.-Italian Treaty

February 2, Rome

Treaty of Friendship, commerce and Navigation on a basis of reciprocity.

1. Each country reserves the power to control traffic in materials needed for manufacturing atomic bombs.

2. U.S. temporarily agrees to the maintenance of certain exceptional measures such as exchange controls, multiple exchange rates and quantitative import restrictions until Italy is able to overcome the financial and economic difficulties she is suffering as a result of the war.

3. Italian workers, in the U.S. to be granted the same benefits of compulsory social insurance as they enjoy in Italy.

4. Provides for freedom of press and information, including the writing, reporting, gathering and transmission of material for publication in the press, radio and motion pictures, with the exception of the safeguarding of military secrets.

5. Wherever possible, each country grants the other's nationals, corporations and associations the same rights it grants its own, in other cases it grants them most-favored-nation treatment.

41:48 U.S. Note to Rumania

February 2, Washington

Protests the denial of fundamental freedoms promised the Rumanian people under the peace treaty.

Note: Britain sent similar note Feb. 3rd.

42:48. U.S.-Portugese Agreement

February 3, Washington

Provides for use of Lagens airfield Azores for U.S. military aircraft for 3 to 5 years.

43:48 Polish-Norwegian Agreement

February 4, Oslo

Trade and barter agreement for 1948, provides for Polish delivery of coal, coke, sugar, iron goods, minerals and textiles, and Norwegian delivery of herrings, cod liver oil, fats, paper pulp products and artificial manures.

44:48 Iraq Rejects British Treaty

February 4, Baghdad

Note informs British that Portsmouth Treaty (see World Files, March, 1948) has been rejected.

Note: A British Foreign Office representative pointed out that no action was contemplated since the 1932 treaty of alliance between the two nations remains in effect.

45:48 Soviet-Rumanian Treaty

February 5, Moscow

Twenty year treaty of friendship and mutual military assistance.

46:48 Charter for Bizonal Area of Germany

February 6, Berlin

Effective February 24th, the reorganized economic government of Bizonia will be in full operation. The following provisions are incorporated in the new charter:

1. The legislative branch of the new governmental set-up will include an Economic Council of 104 members elected by the assemblies of the states on the basis of population and political distribution.

2. A Council of States comprised of two members for each state to be designated by state governments and hold office for as long as governments select them.

3. A Supreme Court, "The High Court for the Combined Economic Area," will consist of ten members, any five of which will constitute a quorum. The judges must not be members of the bizonal or a state government and must be qualified to be judges of administrative courts.

47:48 Polish-Finnish Pact

February 6, Warsaw

One year commercial agreement involving exchanges worth $15,000,000. Poland to provide a million tons of coal, and Finland to export cellulose and paper.

48:48 French-Spanish Agreement

February 7, Paris

Officially opens frontier between France and Spain which had been closed for two years. Railway, sea and air traffic as well as telephone, postal and telegraphic communications to be resumed.

49:48 Tito Accuses U.S.

February 9, Prague

In a statement to the press Premier Tito of Yugoslavia accused the U.S. of encircling peaceloving nations in an effort to "enslave Europe."

2. He also accused U.S. financial interests of "playing with fire" and war mongering by "establishing bases in Greece . . . buying land or bases in Spain and Portugal."

3. "This is a war of nerves, the creation of a war psychosis, and we say that there will be no war because the peoples do not want it. . . . We want peace, and we shall defend it — strong, compact and united."

50:48 U.S.-Swedish Agreement

February 11, Washington

Supplementing the trade understanding of June 24, 1947, Sweden received the right to exclude U.S. goods not considered essential to her economy and to delay dollar payments to U.S. exporters for what she considers a reasonable period, in order to protect her dwindling dollar reserve.

51:48 U.S.S.R. Statement on Plan to Cut Occupation Cost to Germany

February 11, Berlin

In a statement made by Marshal V. D. Sokolovsky, U.S.S.R. commander in Germany, he said:

1. Although Soviet reparation demands would not be reduced, occupation costs would be cut.

2. An end to sequestration of private property would be considered, a revised list has already been prepared.

3. The U.S.S.R. commander would support private enterprise that aims at "restoration and further development of the peacetime economy in the Soviet zone."

4. Professional civil servants who "honestly and openly cooperate with the people" would be permitted to be re-employed by the Government.

5. He would "do his best under present circumstances" to arrange for a return to the old-age pension system.

6. There is a possibility of setting a termination date for denazification.

7. The Soviet commander would arrange for "a precise outlining of the functions of leading economic organizations and a further employment of German democratic administrative organisms."

52:48 Anglo-Uruguayan Pact

February 13, London

Uruguay is permitted to convert up to 10% of her £17,000,000 balance into any currency except dollars in the next two years.

53:48 Argentine-Venezuelan Treaty

February 13 Caracas

Two year trade treaty calling for an annual exchange of 2,000,000 barrels of Venezuelan oil for 15,000 tons of boned refrigerated Argentine meat, with an option of an extension at the end of the period.

54:48 Polish Note to France

February 14, Paris

Protests police measures against maltreatment of Polish citizens in France.

55:48 U.S.-U.S.S.R. Exchange of Notes Re: Parley on Germany

Soviet Note

February 14, Washington

In regard to the proposed Great Britain-U.S.-French conference to discuss questions relating to Germany. . . .

1. "The Soviet Government considers it necessary to draw the attention of the Government of Britain to the fact that the calling of such a conference to examine questions falling within the competency of all the powers occupying Germany, and which concern other European countries, would be a violation of the Potsdam Agreement and other decisions adopted by the four powers under which the responsibility for administering Germany and the laying down of a policy with regard to Germany is borne jointly by the occupying powers and this is incompatible with separate actions. . . ."

2. "In view of the above, the Soviet Government considers it necessary to bring to the notice of the Government of Britain that they will not regard the decisions will be taken at this meeting as rightful."

U.S. Note

February 21, Washington

In regard to above note

1. "There is no provision in the Potsdam or other agreements relating to Germany concluded by the four occupying powers which prevents any of the powers from discussing between themselves questions of common concern."

2. . . ."The result evoked by the failure of the Soviet Government to observe the principle of economic unity provided for in Section III B 14 of the Potsdam Agreement impels the three other powers at this time to consult among themselves to put an end to a state of uncertainty and economic deterioration in Germany which threatens recovery in all of Europe. . . .

3. "The fact that it now protests against the endeavors which will be made to develop constructive measures to deal with the present situation in Germany can only be construed as an effort to shift the responsibility incurred by the Soviet Government itself for the present division of Germany with all the unfortunate consequences which this division entails, not only with respect to Germany, but for the recovery of Europe as a whole."

56:48 Soviet-Hungarian Treaty

February 18, Moscow

Twenty-year treaty of friendship and mutual assistance.

57:48 Yugoslav-Soviet Zone Pact

February 18, Berlin

Soviet zone in Germany will supply Yugoslavia with machine tools, road-building equipment, textile machinery, and precision instruments. Yugoslavia will supply raw materials, hemp, tobacco and agricultural products.

58:48 Argentine Statement Re: Antarctica

February 18, Buenos Aires

Statement made by Luis H. Irigoyen, Technical Under Secretary of the Foreign Ministry declared that both the Falkland Islands dependencies and the American Antarctic zone are within the boundaries of the American security zone provided in the Rio de Janeiro Continental Defense treaty signed September 2, 1947.

Note: The statement was made to inform Europe that Argentina does not recognize the existence of European colonies or possessions in the Antarctic.

59:48 U.S. Note to USSR Commander Re: Manhandling of officers

February 18, Seoul

Note from Gen. J. R. Hodge, U.S. commander in Korea, protested manhandling of two U. S. Army liaison officers on February 8, 1948, in Pyongyang capital of the Soviet zone, witnessed by hundreds of Soviet officers who refused to intervene.

60:48 U.S.-Great Britain-France Agreement

February 20, Berlin

1. Agreed on the separation of the Saar from Germany and its economic annexation to France.

2. Provides for removal of Saar coal pool; as of April 1, trade between Saar and rest of Germany to be treated as foreign trade; trade agreements between U.S. and British zones and Saar to be revised to treat Saar as part of French economy.

3. France agreed to reduce her share of claims to heavy German capital equipment as reparations and to accept payments in marks for progressively smaller amounts of Saar coal, to be sold to Germany.

61:48 U.S.-Norwegian Pact

February 24, Washington

Lendlease account settled between the two countries. Norway to pay $5,900,000 in real estate and currency for balance of lendlease and for civilian goods received after September 2, 1945. U. S. waived repayment of $37,000,000 in military goods delivered before V-J Day. Norway agreed to waive $1,000,000 in claims filed in Norway against U.S. armed forces, and agreed to return ten liberty ships provided her under lend lease on demand.

62:48 U.S.S.R. Note to Finland

February 28, Moscow

Invites Finland to send delegates to Moscow, or offers to send delegates to Helsinki to discuss a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and Finland.

The Charter and the U. S. Policy on Palestine

BY CLYDE EAGLETON

Professor of International Law, New York University

THE variegated comments which have been forthcoming with regard to the statement by the Delegate of the United States in the Security Council (Austin) on the Palestine question indicate so much misunderstanding, or lack of understanding, that further discussion of that situation seems to be needed.

In the words uttered by Senator Austin, the legal problem was clearly stated, and it cannot be dismissed as "finespun distinctions" or as "futility." The General Assembly was never given the power to promulgate rules of law or to give decisions binding upon member states; it can do no more than make recommendations to those states. Much less is it given any right to enforce one of its recommendations upon any member. Consequently, neither the General Assembly nor any agency directed by it, can use force to maintain its recommended partition of Palestine.

On the other hand, the Security Council was given the right to employ force, an authority to be exercised only when it decides there has been a threat to the peace or aggression. In making this decision, no limits are set upon the Security Council. It could call the disturbances now going on inside the future Jewish state a threat to the peace if a majority of members so decided. Such a decision might seem to stretch somewhat the spirit of the Charter, which does not seek to interfere within states, and it doubtless would not be needed if a constabulary could be set up to maintain order within the Jewish state. But if there were a use of force from without the Jewish state, it would be not only the right but the duty of the Security Council to use force, if necessary, to repress it.

WHEN the Security Council takes under consideration (according to Chapter VII) the question as to a whether threat to the peace exists, it would still be possible for it offer a recommendation (under Art. 39), which might differ from the one already adopted by the General Assembly. The result might be strange and embarrassing for the UN, yet it would be legally permissible. If the Arab states, for example, should propose to the Security Council a solution other than that adopted by the General Assembly, there would be no *legal* difficulty in its acceptance by the Security Council.

Moreover, as was explained by representatives of the United States before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, no recommendations made by any organ for the settlement of a dispute could be enforced by the Security Council. The U. S. representatives further maintained that this was true even after the aggressor had been overwhelmed by force. The latter part of this statement seems quite far fetched; yet, even if it be true, the Security Council has the right to declare when a threat to the peace is ended. It could, therefore, continue to occupy the territory of an aggressor until its own viewpoint as to what was necessary to end the threat to the peace had been accepted by the aggressor. In other words, whatever solution the Security Council might approve for Palestine it could enforce in fact, even though in legal theory it is not authorized to enforce such a settlement. This, of course, is not true of the General Assembly.

THREE points may now be made as to the statement by Senator Austin on the Palestine question. First, it finds a way out of the legal problem involved, a way which permits either enforcement of the Assembly recommendation or the finding of another solution. A great many people have assumed, it would seem with undue enthusiasm, that the General Assembly had "decided to partition Palestine" and that it could now enforce that decision. This is simply incorrect: the Assembly can neither decide nor enforce. However, the U. S. statement offers a way to bring about enforcement of what the Security Council may desire, in regard to preventing a threat to the peace.

Secondly, and perhaps more important, the statement seems to indicate that the U. S. is turning a corner and that it has now decided, in the words of Austin, that "the United States as a member of the United Nations will continue to deal with the question of Palestine as a member of the United Nations in conjunction with other members. United States policy will not be unilateral." This is an important statement, for it has not been long since — with regard to aid to Greece and Turkey, or the Marshall Plan — the U. S. tended to act independently. There is implicit in the present statement not only a willingness to play ball with the UN, but also to back it by force if necessary. The unilateral tendencies of the U. S. have already caused worry to delegates of other nations, and they may now hope — especially after Secretary Marshall's reference of various matters to the General Assembly last fall — that the U. S. is taking seriously its duties of responsible cooperation as a member of the UN.

Thirdly, it is encouraging that the U. S. has respected the Charter, the constitutional law of the UN. She has not always done so (she has at least evaded it). It might have been possible to lead the General Assembly into taking some strong action for which there was no justification in the law of the Charter. The General Assembly can be accused of having paid insufficient respect to the Charter, for example with regard to the domestic questions clause (Art. 2, par. 7), and the result is definite danger to the idea of legal order. However weak the Charter may be, it is the law which was accepted by UN Members, and they should respect it. It is important that the world organization be based upon law, for otherwise it can not command support and obedience.

united nations DIARY

A digest of UN activities throughout the world

It was the ragged edge of winter. Around the UN building at Lake Success, snow lay in dirty lumps. Queues of wet, shivering people waited for jammed Great Neck buses in the slate-colored March twilight. It was the time of low spiritual blood pressure — for the United Nations itself as well as for the winter-weary Secretariat members.

The world's sore spots seemed to be multiplying and festering — in Palestine, Czechoslovakia, China. Frightened people asked, "Why doesn't the UN *do* something?"

The answer is simple. The UN cannot do anything *on its own.* The UN is an organization of 57 sovereign nations and the initiative for any action must come from one of them. It can only be as strong as its individual members want it to be. So far, hardly a single member has lived up to the Charter in its domestic or international dealings.

Some of the UN's limitations were written into its Charter at San Francisco at the first Conference in order to induce national legislatures to accept it. One of these limitations is that while the General Assembly can make recommendations, it cannot enforce them. In a law-abiding, intelligent world the moral force behind a UN recommendation might be sufficient to make it work. Unfortunately, we are not living in such a world.

As Britain's Creech-Jones, Cadogan and U. S. Austin reviewed Palestine decision . . .

Bitter Fruit in the Orange Groves

The Palestine problem is a case in point. After on-the-spot investigation and weighing of evidence, the UN reluctantly decided that partition of the country into Jewish-Arab states was the only solution. So last November, the Assembly *recommended* that Palestine be partitioned when the British mandate ends (May 15) and a UN commission was set up to help run the country until the two independent states get going. The Arabs walked out of the Assembly hall when the decision was taken and since have flatly refused not only not to accept partition, but have also boycotted Palestine consultations on it. The bitter fruit of the partition recommendation has been thousands of deaths in the Holy Land.

Palestine is not the first case in which Assembly recommendations are being ignored and the UN itself undermined. Argentina has kept diplomatic representatives in Franco Spain; the USSR refuses to open the Northern Zone of Korea to a UN Commission; South Africa has refused to submit a trust agreement for South West Africa and has not stopped discrimination against Indians; Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia refuse to cooperate with the UN Balkan Commission.

Passion running high in Palestine is only one of the things that make the solution so difficult. Oil is another. Many of the speeches in the Security Council degenerated into little more than bitter name-calling. The Jewish Agency and the Arab League recited the atrocities committed by each other. Britain blamed both (and rival Christian groups too) for violence and declared she was washing her hands of the whole thing. The U. S. cautiously suggested that a Big Five committee find out if there really *is* a threat to international peace in the Holy Land.

In his Vermont-Rotarian voice, Warren Austin pointed out that the Security Council cannot send troops or impose sanctions to enforce a recommendation; it can only do these things to keep peace. A force made up of soldiers from small nations is generally favored, but the Military Staff Committee, which has been working on the idea of a UN international police force for almost two years, has nothing to offer. During his speeches, Austin repeated that the U. S. still stands for partition. He was supported by the USSR which finally broke its long silence on Palestine.

British colonial secretary, Arthur reech-Jones presented the view of ıe mandatory power. The plump, ink-and-white Welshman stated flatly ıat Britain will have no part in en- ɔrcing partition which is so hotly op- osed by the Arabs; he also refused ɔ take part in Big Five consultations hich were held to decide upon what ɔ do with Palestine and partition.

Meantime, the British mandate will nd in a few weeks. Just who Pales- ine belongs to then is a question since he UN is not legally the same body s the League of Nations, which warded the mandate to Britain years go. But the UN Palestine Commission s responsible for the administration f the Holy Land until governments or a government) are set up there. 'he "five lonely pilgrims" will take ver the machinery of rule from the 3ritish and help the Jews and Arabs ɔ get their two states started. Guns ıay be more on their minds than elec- ions since a great wave of anti-Jewish iolence is expected when the British eave.

ukewarm Climate in Indonesia

The ink on the Renville Truce was carcely dry when the Indonesians ac- ısed the Dutch of "artificially" cre- ting an independent state in West ava — without plebiscite and con- ary to the Truce. The Dutch retorted ıat this was merely a "conference," an expression of public opinion which could not be stifled.

Although the Security Council passed a tidy resolution, paying compliments to the Committee of Good Offices, the climate of opinion on the Indonesian case was lukewarm. The Indonesians were clearly the losers. In the Council, their faith in the UN and their sacrifices of claims to sovereignity and independence were praised. The Indonesians got the short end economically and territorially too, since the Truce recognizes the Van Mook Line as final, a demarcation which gives the Dutch most of the important oil fields, food producing areas and ports in Java.

glum Jewish Agency spokesmen Shertok and Silver saw hope for peaceful partition wane.

Most outspoken critic of the Good Offices Committee report and the Renville Truce, which it helped to negotiate ("most shameful document ever issued under the UN heading"), was Russia's Andrei Gromyko. The whole thing reminded him, he said, of Mark Twain's story about the hen who cackled as gleefully over an ordinary egg as though she had laid a small planet. But Gromyko was in dead earnest when he attacked Britain and America for their roles as "protectors" of the Dutch. "Colonialism is truly dying," he said, "but some countries are attempting to supply it with medicine to keep it alive."

Dr. Sastroamijojo, of Indonesia, warned somberly that "the atmosphere of goodwill which is so essential for the negotiations . . . is being dissipated."

The Committee of Good Offices is made up of Belgium, U.S. and Australia and is responsible to the Security Council. It will continue its work to bring about peace in Indonesia and to see that the terms of the Renville Truce are carried out. Despite Australia's urging, the Committee did not get the green light to arbitrate between the Dutch and Indonesians.

Bird Songs and Ballots

Spring is coming to Korea and farmers and shopkeepers and laborers will go to the polls for the first time since the War. These elections for representatives to the National Assembly, will be held only in Southern Korea, which is occupied by the U. S. Army.

In Northern Korea, occupied by the Soviet Army, another government is being set up with its own constitution. Result is that there will be two rival states in Korea, because of the Russian refusal to allow the UN Commission into their Zone to supervise elections. Faced with an impasse in the "Land of Morning Calm," the members of the Commission turned the whole thing over to the newly-created "Little Assembly."

The Little Assembly gave the Commission the go-ahead to help with elections for the National Assembly without waiting for the Russian Zone but leaving seats for their representatives if they decide to come. But the members of the "Little Assembly" didn't like the idea too much. Australia and Canada voted against it, feeling that not only were the elections illegal under the terms of the General Assembly resolution which set up the UN Commission, but that it might also be unpopular with the Korean people. There were 11 abstentions out of 44 votes.

All That Glitters

Politics are left outside the door for the most part in the Economic and Social Council. One exception was the Yugoslav protest regarding the United States' failure to return gold reserves sent to her for safe-keeping at the beginning of the War. The U. S. insisted that ECOSOC was not competent to deal with the case because it is not empowered to handle specific disputes or to make recommendations to individual member nations. This was ac-

cepted by the Council. The Eastern European nations feel that this is an emasculation of the Council and that the Yugoslav protest was not a dispute but a matter of international policy.

A potential hot potato was tossed aside to cool off until the July session of the Council in Geneva. It is the proposed survey on forced labor and ways to abolish it, an item suggested by the American Federation of Labor. Also postponed were ways to implement economic and social recommendations of the Council and the Secretary-General's report on the creation of research laboratories by the UN.

At its sixth session ECOSOC also:

- Set up an Economic Commission for Latin America, despite U. S. feeling that no decision should be taken until the Bogota Conference. ECLA will include all Latin American countries, the U. S., Middle East, Britain, France and the Netherlands (who have posessions in the region) — but not the Soviet Union which also asked for membership. The newest of the three regional economic commissions will start work June 30 in Santiago, Chile. Much credit for its creation goes to Chilean ambassador and ECOSOC vice president, Hernan Santa Cruz.
- Recommended member states to do their best to ease the world food shortage, either on a national scale or in cooperation with the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and other international agencies. FAO has been asked to prepare a report on ways of boosting food production.
- Asked the Secretary-General to arrange a survey to be made on the protection of stateless persons.
- Set up a 7-nation committee to prepare a draft convention on the crime of genocide, on the basis of the draft prepared last year by the Secretariat.
- Asked member nations to report what they are doing to assure full employment.

Spotlight on Justice

The case of Britain vs. Albania is up before the International Court of Justice in The Hague. It is the first case to be put to the world's highest tribunal. The importance of the Court to the UN and to world justice was sensed as the 16 judges in black robes and white lace bibs took their seats in the Peace Palace courtroom, facing a battery of spotlights and cameras.

Britain charges that mines were laid in the Corfu Channel off Albania with that government's knowledge, resulting in the damage to destroyers and the loss of a number of British lives two years ago.

In the opening Court hearings, Albania complained that Britain's submission of the case was a unilateral action since she had not signed a treaty with Britain, agreeing to submit the case, and she also had not signed the International Court Statute.

If the Court finds Albania is to blame for the Corfu "incident," she will probably be asked to compensate for the damages.

On April 15, the International Court, headed by Judge J. G. Guerrero, of El Salvador will begin hearings on UN membership. The General Assembly has asked for an advisory opinion on whether one nation has the right to make its acceptance of a candidate for membership dependent on the acceptance of another candidate.

Junior Assembly

The United Nations Appeal for Children got under way the end of February with a "Children's Assembly," held in the Economic and Social Council chambers at Lake Success. Boys and girls from 10 to 18, representing 26 countries, discussed the plight of children throughout the world and what can be done to hel their generation before an audienc of more than 400 New York scho children. Seventeen-year-old Pete Ewing, an Australian, was electe chairman. Messages by recording we heard from ten nations. A draftin committee drew up a resolution whic stated that, "The United Nations A peal for Children is the first driv in history that has asked all the pe ples of the world to give to a commo cause. There are no boundaries an no discrimination in this appeal . . It is a way to save some of the gre talents in the world today, and to sa the lives of leaders who may nev be known unless we make sure th they have proper feeding now."

Small fry, attending session of "Children's Assembly," listened with adult attention . .

There are about 50 nations takin part in the Appeal. The launching the drive was marked by children parades, benefit sports events, chari bazaars and church services all ov the world. Money collected will used to take care of the 230,000,0 children who are today in critic need. The UNAC drive will be hel in the U. S. during April and Ma

What Makes A Free Press?

In Geneva, the UN Conference Freedom of Information is discussin the meaning of the truth.

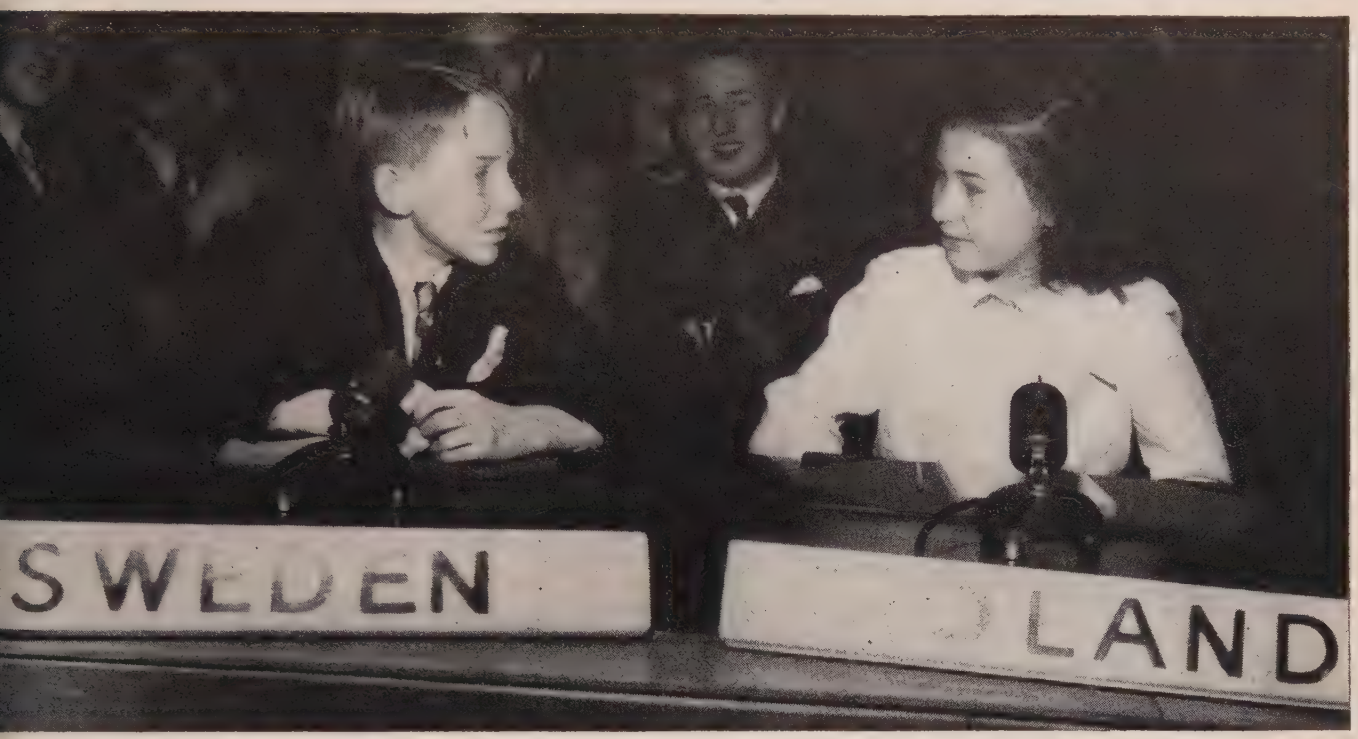
Delegates to the Conference have their portfolios a monumental Secr

riat report based on replies of more an 65 nations to a letter sent out the Secretary-General requesting formation on libel laws, press and dio ownership, censorship laws and on. Altogether, this report repre- nts the most comprehensive picture just how free our "free press and dio" is. On this basis, delegates will ecide how to reduce restrictions and

The Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Osten Unden, has sent copies of this resolution to publishers, editors, journalists, press bureaus of the political parties and to the Swedish Radio Corporation together with a letter urging them to "use all available means for publicity to establish friendly relations between the nations."

appropriations still take up a considerable part of the budgets of the major powers, the UN Commission for Conventional Armaments, a branch of the Security Council, continued doggedly on its way, drafting a plan for reducing and regulating arms production.

• Complaints against Greek border



youthful delegates from Sweden, Poland and 26 other countries, discussed what could be done to save 230,000,000 children in critical need.

romote freedom through the world. But what will happen to the final ecisions of the Conference? There re several possibilities. First, they ay be issued as recommendations by e General Assembly. Second, cov- nants (which are, in effect, interna- onal laws) may be drafted from onference recommendations and cir- ulated to governments for their sig- ature. A third possibility is that ilateral agreements may be reached mong nations to protect their news- en, to promote freer access to news ources and to technical materials uch as newsprint.

weden vs the War-Mongers

Sweden is the only country so far do anything about the General ssembly's resolution on war-monger- g which condemns all forms of ropaganda which provoke aggression r any threat to peace and calls on ll countries to promote friendly re- tions among nations.

UNews Briefs

• Burma is the first country to apply for UN membership in 1948. The application goes now to the Security Council for its recommendation, then to the Assembly which meets in Paris in September.

• The skeleton structure of the International Maritime Consultative Organization has been set up. It will become a UN specialized agency and will recommend improvements, standardization of equipment and safety measures to be adopted internationally. The Organization, which was born at the recent Geneva maritime conference, will have headquarters in London.

• Secretary General Trygve Lie will negotiate with Secretary of State Marshall for a $65,000,000 loan for building the UN's permanent home in Manhattan.

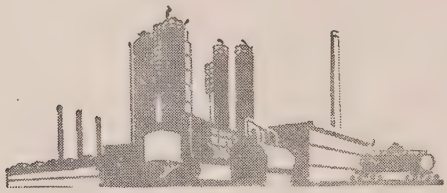
• At a time when peacetime defense

"provocations" have been levelled by Albania and Bulgaria. Protests have been forwarded to the UN Balkan Committee for its investigation. The World Federation of Trade Unions has filed a protest with the UN on treatment of "democratic elements" within Greece.

• Ethiopia has asked the World Health Organization to make a survey of health conditions among her 14,000,000 people, concentrating specially on tuberculosis and venereal disease.

• An exhibit of the world's documents of human rights is on view in the main corridor at Lake Success. It includes excerpts from the constitutions of eight countries, ranging from the Magna Carta (1215), oldest guarantee of man's dignity, to the UN Charter (1945), first international pledge for the protection of man's rights.

The World's Business



ECONOMIC REBIRTH IN ITALY

BY B. A. JAVITS

Author of the forthcoming book *Blueprint for One World*

ITALY has dramatic shortages in seed, fats, fertilizer and machine tools, but its crucial and perennial shortage remains that of capital.

The turmoil surrounding the elections scheduled for this month points up the fact that the future of democracy in Italy is inseparably linked with the fate of the Italian economy.

Italy's "share" of approximately $1 billion for the first fifteen months of the Marshall Plan has to be regarded only as a first necessary installment if Italy is to be brought to its legitmate place in the world.

If that aid, especially from the standpoint of credits, is substantial enough, Italy's economic structure can be readily buttressed, and amplified, to achieve living standards superior to any she has ever known.

To be sure, war devastation by Allied bombings and Nazi and Allied artillery fire and tanks, along with the plundering of anything portable by the Nazis, reduced the industrial capacity of Central and Southern Italy by 30 percent. But the more important mills and plants in the North (paper, aluminum, textiles, trucks, motors and steel), were left almost intact, losing only 7 percent of their pre-war capacity. Hydro-electric facilities, generating power from the rivers of the Alps and the Apennines, were so little damaged that by June of 1946 they were back to 96 percent of their pre-war production. Italy's recovery, in short, has been hampered more by the war-sponsored disruption of transport (harbors and shipping and railroads) and by shortages of foreign exchange, raw materials, working capital and food than by the over-dramatized loss of her industrial capacity.

Italy today represents the paradox of a country ideally suited to intensive and extensive industrialization but which has remained primarily agrarian. It cannot be over-emphasized that the hope of Italy is ultimately to transfer to the factory as many as 5 million out of her 9 million now working in the field. Italy has 2½ million people trying to cultivate wheat and barley and maize and rice in a hilly soil. Moreover, that soil, never too fertile for cereal crops, has been depleted and impoverished by lack of replenishment in the form of fertilizer, notably phosphates.

Similarly Italy's cattle, sheep and goats have deteriorated because modern techniques of cross-breeding and nutrition are little known.

Italy does have spectacular amounts of mercury (largest in the world) and zinc (highest in Europe) and sulphur (second only to Texas) and hemp (nearly on a par with the Ukraine) together with impressive deposits of marble, bauxite, lead and antimony. But she lacks basic minerals. Her coal reserves, mainly in Sardinia, are meager and extremely low grade, yielding only 3 out of the 15 million tons she annually required back in 1939. She is also particularly deficient in iron ore for making steel, and oil.

DESPITE these deficiencies, however, Italy can be prosperous. Holland has no iron. Sweden has no coal. Denmark and Switzerland have neither. The extremely high living standards in these nations demonstrate that today economic well-being depends almost exclusively upon technical progress in the shop, and on the land.

However, this technical progress depends upon the volume of capital available. The core of Italy's problem is insufficient investment to build an improve tools and machines and othe equipment. What investment there ha been has sufficed to indicate that Itall is capable of infinitely greater indus trial expansion. But Italy, while othe European nations were moving wit the technological times, has lagge way behind in the procession, as th accompanying table shows.

What this tabulation especially re veals is that Italy has remained *under industrialized* because she was *under capitalized*. This is another way o saying that the extent of mechaniza tion or the amount of "horse-power, or inanimate energy that can be draw on, in Italy, as elsewhere, correspond to the extent of capitalization. Sig nificantly, in Italy the number o horse-power per concern amounts t 92.9 as against 271.4 in the U. S. Th connection between the total of horse power installed and the total of capi tal investment is high-lighted by th fact that in the 1937-39 period thi averaged $1348 per worker in Ital as against $7000 in the U.S. It i hardly necessary to add that firm poorly furnished with conveyor belts punch-presses, cranes, etc., tend t waste their labor and display an un duly high unit cost.

ALTHOUGH Americans generall think of Italian exports in term of wine, olive oil, hand-blocked silks salami and sponges, Italian industr has disclosed surprising ability to pro duce typewriters, optical instruments pharmaceuticals and other commodi ties which require not only compli cated processing, but also researc laboratories of the first class an highly trained personnel from metal lurgist to manager to machinist. In deed, shortly after World War I Italy had become chiefly a seller o finished goods of high quality.

The American share of pre-war Ital

an exports was around 7½ percent, or 345 million at 1938 prices. So long as prosperity continues here, the American market will be able to absorb not only the traditional Italian products such as cheese, chianti and the like, but also superior textiles and artisan wares which reflect the perfectionist character of Italian workmanship. But luxury imports will hardly comprise our entire trade with Italy. She will be buying from us many of our mass production items, even automobiles. For the Italian car-makers will probably continue to concentrate, like Rolls-Royce in England, on custom-built engines and chassis while the average Italian in a few years may be buying Fords.

In such areas as toys and electrical generators Italy is preparing to take over Germany's Middle Eastern and Latin American markets. But it will take Italy at least two generations to catch up to American mass production standards as they exist.

HOWEVER, while the industrial potential of Italy, on the basis of past performance in the face of numerous handicaps, is very promising, her internal finances are desperately muddled. A legacy of fascist times is the fantastic amount of currency in circulation. At the start of 1948 this had reached the lunar figure of over 700 billion *lira* as compared with 19 billion in 1938, and 96 billion in June of 1943. Attempts to anchor the *lira* have to be made with caution; too sharp and sudden a devaluation would prostrate the country. At the same time, the public debt is astronomical at 1000 billion *lira*, the equivalent of $1,750,000,000 (at the official exchange rate) in U. S. currency.

The budget is completely out of balance, with expenditures at a 14 to 1 ratio with revenues, partly because collection methods offer the taxpayer unlimited chances to defraud. The large landowners openly resist heavier taxes, as do the major industrialists. Their argument — not without cogency — that they must have capital to put acres and plants in shape again, is not convincing to peasant and worker. The latter feel that if the "big shots" do not have to pay more, the "little shots," having less, should be let off altogether. The situation is further complicated by the attitude toward nationalization displayed by Italy's three "mass" parties, the Christian Democrats, the Socialists and the Communists. All three with varying fervor want to break up monopoly in land, and divide the acreage of the big *latifondi*, or estates, among the peasants. All three urge decentralization of industry, and regional TVA developments. All three advocate labor representation with management on joint councils not only to arrange wages and working conditions but also to help plan industrial output. All three favor the establishment of both producer and consumer cooperatives, banking reform, vast new outlays for popular education and for social services.

The difference between these three parties is one of degree and emphasis, rather than one of kind. Already, of course, the government, by means of fiats and statutes that may be modified when conditions are established, controls 60 percent of the metallurgical industry, 90 percent of the shipyards, 100 percent of passenger vessels, 75 percent of telephone networks, and 35 percent of electric light and power. Moreover, since the government, through the medium of the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction, is in charge of 87 percent of savings, practically no new financing can go forward without government sanction.

IN the light of economic trends and counter trends in Italy it is interesting to observe that a major ambition among middle-class Italians especially is to go into business for themselves. This reflects an effort to imitate what many Italians believe to be the basic American business pattern. But there is another reason. Italians of every group and faction remember that undue concentration of economic power in the hands of a few magnates built the road for fascism.

As a token of what can be done, a joint Italo-American company has been already set up to raise the output of methane gas from 15 million cubimeters per month to the same amount per day. Under American engineering guidance, the costs for this undertaking have been determined at 5 billion lira, or about $22 million, including the necessary imports of steel and coal from the U. S. Still another example of Italian-American partnership is the agreement between Otis Elevator Company and an Italian archtype jointly to supply elevator demands from Egypt, Argentina, India, Belgium and Holland.

At present, the loan of $150 million to Italy from the Bretton Woods Bank, and the loan of $100,000,000 from the Import-Export Bank, together with the approximately $1 billion allocated under the Marshall Plan, do not add up to anything more than a promise of a new beginning. Italy with her 46 million people, with her splendid labor force, with her terrific need for industrialization, should have around $1 billion a year for the next five years, as first installments on a long term fifty year credit of $46 billion. Otherwise she cannot adequately vitalize her chemical industry to provide phosphates and nitrogen to nourish her starved soil. She cannot create a merchant marine to carry export cargoes, nor extract lead efficiently from her mines. Above all, she cannot move toward that freedom which the House of Savoy and fascism and monopoly have denied to her people. Yet they remain, by instinct, as individualistic as in the days of the great liberating movements from Garibaldi to the Partisans.

Country	1928-1938 Average Share of world industrial production	% of world Population	Industrialization Index
USA	44.80	6.20	722
Canada	2.22	0.50	444
Gt. Britain	9.26	2.30	403
Switzerland	0.80	0.20	400
Germany	11.55	3.25	355
France	7.00	2.07	337
Belgium	1.10	0.40	275
Holland	1.00	0.39	256
Czechoslovakia	1.60	0.70	229
Denmark	0.35	0.175	200
Italy	3.15	2.06	153

Venezuela's Novelist-Presiden

BY GERMAN ARCINIEGAS
Distinguished Colombian Writer

NORTH AMERICANS, on reading that a novelist has been elected president of Venezuela may well try to visualize a John Dos Passos, Steinbeck or a Hemingway in the White House. That a novelist who is not a professional politician, should take over the administration of a country may seem strange to them. But the election of Gallegos, to Latin Americans, appears even stranger. This is not because the President is a writer — in Colombia the president has usually occupied a chair in the Academy prior to his election while Paraguay's most eminent writer, Natalicio González, has just been elected chief executive. What surprises and pleases Latin Americans in the case of Venezuela is that the people instead of electing a general should have chosen a writer in the first truly free elections in that country's history.

Few Venezuelans now living have ever known anything but general-presidents — General Juan Vicente Gómez, General López Contreras, General Isaías Medina. Gómez was one of the worst dictators in American history. During his quarter century of power not a soul moved in Venezuela except by his will. After his death the generals who succeeded him opened the way to democracy, but nevertheless retained their military titles. A military coup, in 1945, overthrew General Medina and the military men handed the government over to a civilian: Rómulo Betancourt, leader of the *Acción Democrática* party. Betancourt called for a constitutional assembly which established universal suffrage. Every adult Venezuelan, man or woman, poor or rich, literate or illiterate, voted. By overwhelming majority they swept into office a man who had no other weapon but a typewriter, and whose principal claim to fame was that he had written several famous novels.

BEFORE that time, Gallegos' appearances in public office had been rare. He served as Minister of Education for a year, and once held a seat in Congress. His more permanent position on the civil service lists was that of high school teacher. Because he was a teacher and a novelist he was loved by the public, the revolutionaries of 1945, the armed forces. Because he was a teacher and a novelist, he was elected president. In the depths of their souls, that is the way the Venezuelans dream of their republic — a school, with a novel's romantic ideal as its goal.

Romantic? Not exactly. The novels of Gallegos are social, or more precisely, popular. He has done that which no politician could accomplish — brought the common people, body and soul, flesh and blood into literature. This is true of *Doña Bárbara, Canaima, El Pobre Negro, Reinaldo Solar, Canta Claro,* novels which are today Latin American classics. The humble plainsman who passes his days on horseback rounding up cattle on the *llano* and singing ballads, discovered that there was a person who approached him, listened to him, transformed him into a character in a book. The same happened to the Negro, to the people of the country and the village.

Gallegos did not travel as a tourist, seeing the sights and gaining quick impressions; he listened in order to hear the complaints of the humble and to understand their souls. He "heard the grass growing." Never did he dream while he was doing these things, that he was moving toward the presidential palace. He wrote out of artistic curiosity, moved by a noble heart. His novels have no thesis. They have no plan but to recount the life of his people. And when the people were told "Choose your president," they answered, without hesitation. "It must be this man who knows us, who has walked with us at night, and sung with us."

To the common man in Venezu Gallegos is a writer who has tained universal fame, whose bo are translated into strange langua and who is admired and respected persons of other continents. It is necessary to have read his books. majority of the people have not d so, because the dictatorships left ab 80 percent of the country illiter But in the villages, those who read, read Gallegos' books alo They are heard over the air and, m important of all, the movies h brought them to the people. The mo versions have not always been faith interpretations. They were made Mexican actors. Venezuelan coun folk often laugh when they hear th ballads and expressions delivered unfamiliar accents. This does not h Gallegos' reputation. On the contra the films, as films, are among the h in Latin America. The Venezuelan joys the story and is flattered to th that his songs and legends travel distant lands and acquire univer popularity. Only "Don Rómu could have done it.

The election in Venezuela was c ducted in the only manner possible the poor who are in the majority to vote and the poor can't read ("With Don Rómulo we shall learn read," they said) — a special te nique must be adopted. They voted colors. The conservatives with gr pieces of paper, the communists w red, the fascists with black, the Der cratic Action party with white. So t no one could vote twice, a meth common in Colombia for some ti was used. The voter had to dip index finger into a solution of nitr of silver which blackened it for or three days. Thus nearly a mill Venezuelans deposited their w papers and left with a smudged fing without noise, without violence, a fulfilling a sacrament.

Many writers from the two Am cas and from Republican Spain w invited to the inauguration of

legos. He gave a luncheon at the Country Club. It was a comradely gathering in which he made final contact with friends of the same profession, before embarking on the great adventure of governing a republic on the following day. Referring to the people of his novels he said that they were of paper, much different from those that were his responsibility now. As graphic illustration he recalled the refrain about the little paper bird:

"To make a dove is a simple feat,
What's difficult is to get it to eat."
("*En hacer una paloma*
hay much facilidá
en que abra el pico y que coma
está la difficultá.")

How well will the writer of novels govern? Many circumstances are in his favor, — his good sense, his honor, his pedagogic experience, even his brief administrative efforts. The danger may lie in his being a novelist. But one must not forget that the novels of Gallegos are not exclusively products of the imagination. His characters have not been invented. In his novels, there is a profound sense of social justice and more abundant human documentation than one can ever find in books of statistics or in the cumbrous speeches of politicians.

If the people who brought Gallegos to power back him up to the limit, and the military remain in their quarters and respect him, his election will be a lesson in model patriotism for all Latin America.

books from everywhere

International Affairs

***PEOPLE IN COLONIES** by Kumar Goshal. New York, Sheridan House. $3.50.*

The question of colonies is a world problem, and the welfare of the peoples living in colonies is of much concern to the humanitarian agencies of the United Nations. Kumar Goshal, author of *The People of India,* discusses the subject in its various aspects from an approach designed to reach the general public rather than specialists who have access to technical reports. As an Indian Mr. Goshal himself has had personal experience in living under an alien rule and therefore can understand at first hand many of the disadvantages and difficulties of colonial peoples. Some readers may feel that Mr. Goshal is too radical in pushing claims for justice to colonials, but actually his statements are moderate compared to many research studies.

The author says that seven powers with a population of less than 400,000,000 directly or indirectly control the destinies of nearly 1,500,000,000 people living in colonial and semi-colonial areas, and that these people live continually on the borderland of starvation. Included are India, only recently released from the rule of the Raj, China, torn first by the European powers and then by wars and civil wars, and Latin America which, in the author's view, has long suffered under economic pressure from the North. Two reports by officials to the British Colonial Office, said to be recent, on conditions in the British colonies, indicate a distressing prevalence of malnutrition and disease caused by malnutrition. Accompanying malnutrition in most colonies and semi-colonies, no matter by whom governed, Goshal asserts that the illiteracy is appalling. The powers possessing colonies, instead of blaming their own administrations, have usually put the responsibility for these conditions on the "backward" peoples themselves. But Goshal pertinently brings out in his chapter, "The Story of Colonial Conquest," that no helpless country from the 16th through the 19th century was taken over from the point of view of benevolence but purely for greed and aggrandizement. In "What Are Colonies Worth?" he throws on the ash heap the statement frequently made that colonies are a total loss to the mother country by showing how enormously Britain has prospered from its hold on India, the Netherlands from Indonesia, France from Indo-China, Spain from its colonial new world, and so on. To produce this prosperity the colonial peoples fared very badly indeed, as is explained in vivid detail. Especially notable are the shocking conditions reported to be existing today in many parts of Africa.

Now after the war many awakening colonial peoples want their independence. They want the whole loaf, not a quarter, although for the time being they are willing to make many concessions to start themselves on the road to freedom. Mr. Goshal asserts that "the colonial peoples are sick and tired of 'being saved' by imperialist powers from this or that imaginary bogey," including Communism. The most pressing problem in colonial countries is not Communism but *feudalism.* Goshal says that only the United Nations can negotiate the elaborate program for the economic, social and educational rehabilitation of the colonies, which heartily distrust a Trusteeship Council. He concludes with an impassioned plea that "all colonial peoples should immediately be set free and taken into the ranks of the United Nations."

USSR

***RUSSIA AND THE RUSSIANS** by Edward Crankshaw. New York, The Viking Press. $3.00.*

Edward Crankshaw, an English journalist and novelist, who was with the

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BOOKS *(continued)*

British military mission in Moscow during the war, has keyed his book on Russia chiefly to a British audience, but it applies equally to Americans. At the beginning he emphasizes that the ignorant hero-worship of Russia during the war was both "dangerous and unhealthy," and the awakening came with a shock and revulsion on both sides of the Atlantic. The pendulum has swung completely back, but in the author's view the complete disillusionment is as much the result of ignorance as was the uncritical admiration during the fighting years. He goes on to say that real understanding of the Russians and the world situation is imperative. It must be recognized, he explains, that the future of the world lies in the hands of only three powers — Russia, the U.S. and Britain.

With these stark premises in mind, Mr. Crankshaw endeavors to show from his own observations and experience what Russia and the Russians are like for the British who ask him: "Is Russia out to dominate the world?" and for Americans who ask: "When shall we have to fight the Russians?" In his own words he has attempted "to produce a picture of the Russian people, their culture, and their political ideas, against the background of the unchanging conditions of their landscape and climate.

He is not a Communist, nor is he unaware of flaws in the Soviet system, as he reveals in his references to the secret police and in descriptions of forced labor camps and of prisoners being marched away in the snow. But he has a great affection for the Russian people and he is all for peace in this atomic age. So, "all the explaining in the world will get us nowhere unless we can experience the *feel* of Russia. And the feel is dominated by the mighty plain." Certainly the feeling, poetic and absorbing, for the immensity and cosmic infinity of the plain and its effect on the character and attitude of the one hundred million peasants who still dwell on the plain is effectively conveyed. To the plain is attributed the course Russian history has taken. If the author is correctly interpreted, the Tsar was not imposed on the people; he was invited as a protection and coordination of forces against the invasion of barbaric hordes across the plains. It is not too difficult a shift of gears from that idea to the present rulers in the Kremlin.

Throughout, the motif of the gray-faced masses, whether on the plains or in the Moscow streets, is skilfully played upon. It is these gray masses that separate themselves into individuals, who are citizens of the U.S.S.R., who have survived three revolutions. But the "grayness is their armor." Following the trail of people, "the drabness has three main pressures: one physical, one political, one spiritual. Together they add up to a weight which would crush any Western nation to extinction."

It is heavily underlined that the dwindling survivors of "one of the most bitter, harsh and protracted struggles in the history of the world," and more important than the survivors — the Soviet youth — brought up rigidly in its own ideology, does not evaluate issues or problems as does the West. Soviet youth are beginning to run the country. Unlimited power stretches before them. And to them Russian Communism is a religion. They are fervent, fanatic and zealous, as were Christians in the Middle Ages. To Soviet youth a Five-Year Plan is the way to salvation and conversion to the Soviet system, the salvation of the world. Mr. Crankshaw feels that the religious aspect of Communism — the eagerness to fight and die for it — is not sufficiently recognized by Britain and the United States. He deplores the absence in Russia of freedom of thought. But there it is, and at this moment its absence does not trouble the majority of Russians, busy building their "socialist paradise." It is admitted that "the human mind as we know it and understand it and value it is quite stamped out."

Does Mr. Crankshaw offer any solution? In his final chapter, "The U.S.S.R. and the World," he points out (1) that Soviet Russia does not want war, but the Russians are bad psychologists regarding foreign peoples and they may commit a first-class diplomatic blunder unless the rest of the world keeps cool and make it clear how far the Russians may go and where they must stop; (2) that the development in the United States of a "new dogma of private enterprise and individualism" without any controls is also dangerous and may lead to the ultimate clash. Mr. Crankshaw believes that

the United States and Britain must accept the fact that Russia exists as a force, "potentially the greatest force in the world," and that the burden of restraint and understanding is on the side of the two Western Powers, since Russia is completely possessed by its dogma. The burden of proof also, he says, is on the side of the West which believes it has something worth preserving. To preserve their own values, the United States and Britain must each keep its own house in order, "arranging the life within it so that all the members of the household are proud to belong to it and do not look elsewhere for their salvation from oppression."

Mr. Crankshaw writes informally, gracefully and, in spite of his effort to view Russia through the eyes of a stranger to this planet, with far more emotion than detachment. His book was published before the Communist coup in Czecho-Slovakia. The reader may well wonder where he would suggest drawing the line for the Russians to stop.

note these too

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE by J. Rives Childs. New York, Henry Holt. $4.00.

U. S. Minister to Saudi Arabia, J. Rives Childs has had many years experience in the foreign service, especially in the Near East, and at home in the State Department during several critical periods. Well equipped to analyze the functions, administration and problems of the organization, he has produced a highly informative and at the same time a readable and lively book, interspersed with many diverting and pointed anecdotes relating to the service. In his discussion Mr. Childs takes into special consideration the Foreign Service Act of 1946, designed to streamline and improve the service. To young Americans interested in a government career abroad and to all who wish to understand how the foreign service operates out of Washington, this is a useful and indeed the only up-to-date book on the subject.

FROM FIJI THROUGH THE PHILIPPINES, by Lt. Col. Benjamin E. Lippincott. New York, Macmillan. $10.00.

This handsome volume is a record in text and paintings of the U. S. Thirteenth Air Force in its offensive against Japan. The Thirteenth Air Force ranged throughout the South and Central Pacific over an area of 4,000,000 square miles. In the introductory history and the detailed captions accompanying the illustrations, Colonel Lippincott and his assisting staff tell simply and effectively about the hopping from island to island and the camps in lonely jungles, with rare rest periods in Australian cities. It is a human story, rather than a stiff technical report, told without heroics or bombast, of constant danger and persistent attacks. Sergeant Laessig's water colors, 16 of which are reproduced in full color, 80 in sepia duotone, vividly portray the military exploits and daily life of the group.

FROM MY JOURNAL by André Maurois. New York, Harper & Bros. $2.75.

The author of *Ariel* gives pleasant but not too robustly stimulating impressions of his last months in the United States and his return to France in 1946. He has more respect than most Europeans for the culture of the Middle West in general and of Kansas City in particular, where he gave several courses at the University, and makes interesting comments on student reactions to his talks. Touching on literary subjects in his journal, he is always at his best but, coming back to France after the war years, he has little to offer in the way of interpretation.

IN HENRY'S BACKYARD by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. New York, Henry Schuman. $2.00.

With simple text based on the pamphlet *Races of Mankind* and amusing six-color illustrations, this little book drives out the "green devils" of "prejudice, stupidity, hate" and dramatically pushes home the importance of fellowship and cooperation among all peoples in this shrinking world. Those who saw the film "Brotherhood of Man" will be intrigued to find Henry again. Here's a gay and heartening book for young and old.

INTRODUCTION TO IRAN by Elgin Groseclose. New York, Oxford University Press. $3.50.

A short introduction to any country tends to superficiality because of the scope to be covered and the knowledge required in many fields to which specialists devote their lives. Mr. Groseclose's INTRODUCTION TO IRAN is hardly an exception. But he writes with charm and feeling of the contemporary life and changing customs and, in his own special field of economics, currency and budgetary reforms, he makes a real contribution.

LABOR PROBLEMS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA by Virginia Thompson. New Haven, Yale University Press for Institute of Pacific Relations. $4.00.

One of the most interesting features of this survey in Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Indo-China and Siam is the discussion of postwar labor developments, showing on the one hand a trend toward more vigorous unionization and on the other toward concessions by governments because of the growing power of the workers in these areas. Dr. Thompson, author of *French Indo-China* and *Thailand*, has put prodigious research into the facts and findings. Sociologists, economists and political scientists will find this book a mine of information on the background and working conditions among the newly vocal and restless peoples of Southeast Asia.

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Memo to U. S. Voters

An Editorial

BY VICTOR R. HAYA DE LA TORRE
Noted Peruvian Democratic Leader

IN national elections, as in family quarrels, it is a good idea for the neighbors to keep out. But when it is certain that the outcome of that quarrel is going to have a vital effect on the whole community, a neighbor may be excused for uttering a timely word of advice.

The citizens of the United States will be electing a president for their country this fall. This is a duty which they have, of course, always taken most seriously. But, in this election the U. S. voter has responsibilities greater than ever before in history, not only to his own country, but to the entire world.

It is an historic fact that since the last war ended the U. S. has assumed the position of, and has been recognized as, the world's leading nation. This may or may not be agreeable to the people of the U. S., but it is a reality which they cannot avoid. Whether they like it or not, the man they will send to the White House will not only be president of his country, but the leader of all the democratic forces and nations throughout the world. And whether we citizens of the other democracies like it or not, he will make decisions for us on international questions fraught with the gravest consequences to us. The smaller nations have no alternative but to take sides in this divided world and, of course, true democracies can make only one choice.

IT would be a mistake to assume that it is only in the international sphere that we are concerned with what the U. S. does. So preponderant is the economic power and position of the U. S. in today's world that its internal problems concern us a great deal. The economic health or infirmity of the United States has almost as much effect on many other nations of the earth as it has on the states of California or New York, for instance. Our own prosperity rises and falls with that of the U. S.

That is why so many millions of human beings who live far from the frontiers of the United States, particularly in Latin America, believe that not only the future of that country but of the entire world depends to a great extent on the coming presidential elections. *I personally believe that international politics for the next fifty years will mark their point of departure on the results of the voting this coming November.*

I BELIEVE that the North American public is conscious of its responsibility of taking an international outlook when it makes its choice of candidates. The United States has progressed far in this respect during the past twenty years. Two world wars have taught her a great deal, although this fact is perhaps not so evident to U. citizens as it is to the stranger who revisits the count after many years. Proof of this growing maturity is t fact that the American soldier is the only one who h been willing to cross oceans and go to strange countri to fight on alien soil with liberation and not conquest as h object. Those soldiers have twice in a generation gone Europe to fight and die so that the French and Italia might have a free France and a free Italy, so that the de potisms of a Kaiser and a Hitler might be overthrow and they have a crusading spirit which gives the patriotism a deeper significance than that of other soldie who fight only to defend the frontiers of their own territor

It is inconceivable that a people capable of enlisting die for the liberation of other continents will not appr ciate the responsibility involved in electing a leader wh must fulfill the mission of defending that liberty.

IT may be said that the peoples of Latin America ar Europe now attach almost greater importance to t outcome of the presidential elections in the United Stat than to their own national elections. These people ever where in the world feel that the next President of t United States must bring to his office a knowledge of inte national affairs of the highest order if he is properly serve the interests of his country, as well as those humanity.

The great American nation has the responsibility giving the world a commander-in-chief for the defense democracy in peace as well as in war. They should aware that there are millions of voices outside trying get their message heard by the North American natio which holds the future of humanity in its hands. Th message says: "People of the United States, rememb that when you elect a president of your great countr you will elect also a future leader of the defense of inte national democracy."

This message is directed without distinction or prej dice as to the parties involved. I think that Republica as well as Democrats are fully conscious of the histor responsibility the next president of the United States wi have to assume. And I know, that in both political pa ties there are men capable of assuming that respons bility. The important thing to keep in mind is that t election of a president of the United States is no long simply a national event, because on him depends, to vast extent, the solution of the complex problems of t world.

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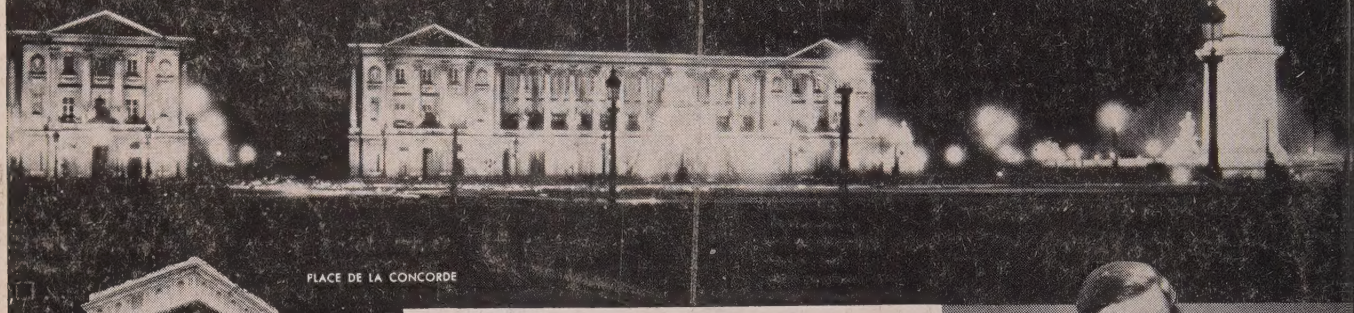

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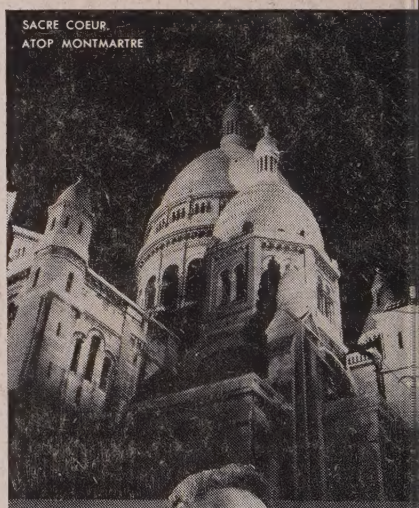

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